





SPECIMENS
OF
ANTIEN^T SCULPTURE,
ÆGYPTIAN, ETRUSCAN, GREEK,
AND
ROMAN:

SELECTED FROM
DIFFERENT COLLECTIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN,

BY
THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

VOL. II.

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MARCH 1st, MDCCCXXXV.





PREFATORY REMARKS
ON THE
HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES
OF
ANTIENT SCULPTURE.

1. **I**N the Dissertation prefixed to the first volume of the present work, Introduction. we have endeavoured to trace the rise, progress, and decline of sculpture in the nations of antiquity, as connected with the technical principles of the art recorded in their histories, and illustrated by existing specimens. The distinguished member of our Society, under whose auspices that Dissertation was drawn up, intended, in our second volume, to have embraced in his Inquiry the systematic style and principle of imitation adopted by the polished nations, and the meaning of those symbols, which were employed for embodying abstract ideas in visible representations. The treatise, which the learned author first printed for private circulation, and afterwards allowed to be communicated to the public in the pages of

Introduction. a periodical journal, we have thought it our duty to annex to this volume in a more permanent form; and we refer to it for much that is most valuable in erudition and ingenious in conjecture. His lamented death, and the unavoidable delay of our present publication have prevented us from adopting as our own, opinions which more recent discoveries, and maturer investigation might possibly have induced him to modify or retract; nor would we lessen the value of his suggestions by alterations which can no longer receive the sanction of his approbation. We therefore give in our appendix the essay as he wrote it; reserving to ourselves in this preface the task of extending our inquiry further into those peculiarities of religion and mythology, by which the arts of design were first encouraged and afterwards modified, into the causes which led to the perfection which they attained, and into the nature as well as the reality of their superiority in Greece beyond all the surrounding nations of antiquity, and beyond those of the moderns, who have deviated from their principles.

Origin of
sculpture.

Vol. I. p. 11,
Prelim. Diss.

2. The writers, who have treated of the origin of sculpture, have sometimes confounded the invention of the art itself, with the introduction of some improvement more or less important in the processes subsequently adopted by different nations. The subject is necessarily attended with obscurity, but taking the word Sculpture in its widest acceptation, as including the various methods of representing in plastic materials the forms of visible objects, it is obvious that no nation has any exclusive claim to such a discovery, and that, as we have already observed in our remarks on primitive art, it was probably known to the rudest, long before the records that we now possess were composed, and even before the knowledge of letters or civil institutions had given any permanence to tradition. The natural love of imitation and the delight produced by it in early life, in savages no less than in civilized communities, must have introduced the rudiments of imitative art into every country, where tractable materials were found and applied to the purposes of life. We still may see in the huts of Tartar hordes, in the islands of the Pacific, in the heart of Africa, and in the wigwams of the American Indian, such grotesque and imperfect models of human and animal forms as every nation instinctively frames for itself long before any principles of art could be supposed to influence or guide such productions.

3. It is perhaps more worthy of observation, that wherever these productions are found, they have been, almost invariably, the objects of idolatry, or at least the instruments of superstition. We do not at this moment recollect a single instance in any country, where such rude attempts have been encouraged from the mere pleasure afforded by their resemblance to the object represented. Dolls are dolls to children only; but the developed imagination of man even in his least cultivated state has always led him, through associations and analogies readily conceived, to endow his *Erzelen* with mysterious and supernatural attributes. The forms of living creatures, however imperfect, were connected in the imagination with sentient beings, their deformity was not always without expression, and even their staring ugliness would give them the power of exciting terror. "Primus in orbe deos fecit timor" is emphatically true of idol worship, and the savage who talked to his puppet made of wood, clay, or feathers, would infallibly be brought by his excited fancy to connect its appearance or accidents with the fortunes of his life, or the phenomena of nature. His images, if not actually adored as Gods, have always been revered as Talismans or Obis, possessing supernatural power over present events, or supernatural prescience of the future. Thus far, we think, many nations have arrived; there the rudest and simplest have remained; but the further progress of the invention has been modified by the various institutions of other communities.

4. In Ægypt, and in Ægypt only, we possess the actual monuments of Ægyptian art. a finished style of art, anterior even to the oldest records of profane history; or rather perhaps the monuments themselves are records of more antient date than any which are yet known to us. Without discussing the minutiae of the chronological system of Mons. Champollion, we find from his interpretation of the hieroglyphics on the walls of the Ægyptian temples, that under the conquering dynasty of the kings, who expelled the shepherd race from that country as early as the nineteenth century before the Christian æra, the walls and tombs of Thebes were decorated with durable sculpture, as well as with paintings representing historical and personal events, equal or rather superior in design and execution to any of their later productions.

5. The more recent researches of our countrymen, and the contemporary labours of literary foreigners, have enabled us to authenticate

Ægyptian art. in a great degree, as well as to appreciate the superior merit of the more antient *Ægyptian* relics. Beside the statues we possess from the Memnonium, one of which is engraved in our first plate from the original in the British Museum, we lay before the reader, in the next engraving, one of the two colossal Lions of red granite brought by Lord Prudhoe from the interior of Nubia, bearing on it the name in hieroglyphic characters of Amenoph the third, the *Æthiopian* sovereign, who was called Memnon by the Greek historians. Our remarks upon these interesting monuments will be found in their place, but their style and execution are so important both to the corroboration of the Grecian records, as to the progress of civilization from *Æthiopia* to *Ægypt*, and also to the history of sculpture, as an early art, that we may be allowed to advert to the following facts gathered from Lord Prudhoe's journal.

2d Kings,
xix. 9.

6. On the south-east side and near the foot of Gebel Birkel, a mountain in Nubia, are the extensive remains of an antient city lying about eighty miles beyond Dongola, and above the upper cataracts of the Nile. The antient name of this town has not been ascertained, but it would appear to have been the capital of Tirhakah, who is called in the Bible king of *Æthiopia*, since some of his finest buildings are found here, and are still in good preservation. The necropolis is marked by the remains of seventeen pyramids, and in the ruins of the city six temples are distinctly traceable. The largest of these, including the propyla, chapels and sanctuaries, is about 495 feet in length and 120 feet wide. It includes in its vast circumference an older temple built by Amenoph the third, whose wall on the north-east has been faced with another outward wall built by one of his successors and inscribed with a more recent name. The great altar of beautiful grey granite was dedicated by Tirhakah. Another grey granite altar, of workmanship not much inferior, has on it the name of another sovereign; while that of Amenoph the third remains on the grey granite rams at the entrance of the propylon, and on a pedestal within the temple, of far superior work.

7. The same name of Amenoph the third was inscribed on one of the Lions of red granite which were found at a short distance in front of another ruined temple dedicated by Amon Asro, and the other Lion was also inscribed by Amon Asro with a dedication to Amenoph the third with his own name, but the hieroglyphics on this were of a sculpture far

inferior to the other. They might probably belong originally to the *Ægyptian art.* temple erected, as we have seen, by that earlier sovereign.

8. We are well aware of the obscurity which, in spite of the successful elucidation of some most ancient inscriptions, still continues to throw a shade on the meaning of early hieroglyphic writing; but if the results from the attempts which have hitherto been made shall be admitted as at least approaching to the truth, the inferences they suggest are very important. We have now been furnished with inscriptions from various monuments deciphered by Champollion and others, which correspond in a very remarkable degree with a part of the catalogue of *Ægyptian* kings recorded by Manetho, and extracted by him from sources not always deemed worthy of historical credit. These reach in general to the monarchs indicated by him as reigning in the seventeenth or eighteenth of the dynasties enumerated. In the most ancient documents of the Jewish and Grecian histories where we find *Ægyptian* and *Æthiopian* monarchs mentioned, and their actions recorded, we can now turn to corresponding traces of their existence and exploits commemorated on the durable materials of their temples, tombs, and palaces. We have certainly much reason from this coincidence, not only to infer the truth of the narratives so unexpectedly confirmed, but also the correctness of that mode of interpretation which has led to such satisfactory results. It is at least fair, when we have found it accurate in all that was previously known from the more recent records of the *Cæsars* and *Ptolomies*, up to the most casual mention of the *Pharoahs* in the sacred annals of the *Hebrews*, to conclude that in hieroglyphic inscriptions of still higher antiquity the same exactitude prevailed, though we possess no longer the same means of estimating it.

9. We have, therefore, less hesitation in ascribing to *Sesostris* and his predecessor *Amenoph* the high antiquity which is attested by their inscribed monuments, whether in *Nubia* or in *Ægypt*. The situation of these inscriptions coincides with all that is known from the traditions of their lives which have been handed down to us by *Manetho*, and by *Grecian* writers; and the combats and events represented on their walls in painting and relief indicate facts corresponding with the general tenour of their supposed history.

10. *Amenoph* the third was one of the later monarchs of the eigh-

Ægyptian art. teenth dynasty of Manetho; as the nineteenth begins with the conquering monarch, whose exploits decorate many of the walls at Thebes, and who appears to have been the Sesostris, Sethos, or Serooses of the early Grecian writers. The buildings and monuments of princes of the eighteenth dynasty attest their dominion, and residence in the country above the second Cataracts of the Nile, known to the Greeks by the general name of *Æthiopia*. The sculpture of this and the subsequent period evinces a knowledge of design, and a truth of representation, not often observed by the artists of *Ægypt* under the government of later kings. We attribute this superiority to a probable cause, when we suppose it to have been directed by an active and powerful dynasty of warriors and conquerors to the decoration of their palaces and temples, or the celebration of their achievements. The more feeble character of their successors, and the more settled form of their institutions, encreased the ascendancy of the great hierarchal aristocracy of the priesthood; and the patronage of art seems to have been transferred from the court and the camp, to the colleges of *Ægypt*. The earlier monuments, whether of good or defective composition, seem to have aimed at the representation of actual nature, and to have been studied from living forms; but those which have been transmitted to us of later date, by *Ægyptian* rulers, and even after the arts of Greece were transplanted into that country with the Ptolomies, exhibit but the improvement of mechanical skill in copying forms long prescribed by custom, and consecrated in older sculptures, as the fixed and hereditary methods of portraying similar objects.

11. We possess then, in the sculptures of the Thebaid and of Nubia, specimens of the highest and most perfect style of imitative art, which the artists of those countries were ever able to attain. Few works of any earlier period have been authenticated, by which their gradual progress to this degree of excellence can be estimated; and from hence their subsequent efforts appear slowly but regularly to decline in character, if not in execution. All that is clearly ascertained of *Ægyptian* history, whether in art or empire, begins with the eighteenth dynasty; which after so many successful struggles, at last fixed the fortune of their nation. The reader will find, in Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, remarks which invalidate the conclusions drawn by Champollion from the more ancient authority of Manetho; and the existence of contemporaneous

governments with similar institutions at Meroë, Thebes, and Memphis, *Ægyptian art.* renders the long succession of dynasties at least suspicious. The catalogue was probably extended by many lists of contemporary rulers, whether of *Æthiopia*, the Thebaid, or the Delta, if not invented by the ingenuity of the priesthood, who appear to have furnished similar but inconsistent catalogues to Herodotus, and to many succeeding enquirers. The general tradition preserved by some of these historians, that the arts and religion of lower *Ægypt* were derived from *Æthiopia*, and that the higher region of the Nile was the cradle of their nation, is consistent with all that is extant of their monuments, and may safely be admitted. One seat of government appears to have been at Memphis, when Moses led the Hebrews out of captivity; but still in the subsequent age of Homer Thebes retained its supremacy, and furnished him with an illustration more forcible than he could probably have drawn from the city which was nearer and more accessible.

12. Whatever may be the result of further enquiry on these, and on other disputable conjectures, it is certain that at a remote and early period the religion of *Ægypt* had assumed the form, which it afterwards wore, when the writers of Greece first made themselves acquainted with the country; a great and powerful hierarchy had been established, the members of which were the interpreters and ministers of a complicated mythological idolatry, as well as the guardians, rivals, or controllers of a despotic monarchy, according to the power of the prince, or the disposition of the people to obey him. On the monarchs high sounding titles were already lavished; divine honours were bestowed; their descent was traced to the gods, the sun and moon; and they themselves are styled gods the sons of gods. At this early period the art of writing or of representing articulate sounds by alphabetical conventional forms already existed; and from its imperfect and complicated structure it appears to have been originally invented by this hierarchy. It seems to have consisted in employing, as a letter expressive of the sound required, the figure of some animate or inanimate object, whose name in the *Ægyptian* language began with a similar sound. Hence a multiplicity of signs were used for each individual letter in various inscriptions; and hence also a neat and dexterous style of sculpture was required to express clearly and intelligibly the forms of such objects as were selected for the

Ægyptian art. purpose. As these inscriptions were executed on granite, basalt, and other materials of great hardness and difficulty of execution, they must have been well acquainted with the art of fusing and tempering metals, and with the various modes of preparing materials and tools for their operations. No monuments or records of ruder or more imperfect times in *Ægypt* have yet been discovered, though from this period the art remained stationary, or rather seems to have become more and more mechanical, and less dependent on characteristic imitation. But though we are unable, from the extreme obscurity and imperfection of our historical materials, to trace the steps by which *Ægypt* attained its early civilisation, the analogy of its progress in every known community would still lead us to infer, that the unhewn pillar was older than the obelisk, and that gods of clay, of palm trees, or wild fig trees, were known and worshipped before stones could be subjected to the chisel.

*Worship of
Natural Phenomena.*

13. The worship of the creator and disposer of all things was, as we learn from the authentic records of Scripture, revealed to man in the earliest stage of his existence. That of the hidden power or powers which preside over the great phenomena of nature is so natural to him in social life, and the worship of the phenomena themselves so obvious to the untutored feeling of the savage, that some religion has probably been found wherever man was settled. The earliest, most natural, and consequently most general defection from the purer worship of the first ages of the world, was into that which has since been called the purer Sabæism, the adoration of the heavenly bodies and the elements of nature. These afforded no temptations to idolatry, and were probably worshipped directly, and not under the forms of substituted representatives, or at least under such only as were analogous to their prototypes in their effects and terrestrial operations. The earliest records of almost every nation, and the earliest names of their divinities, proclaim this worship to have been nearly universal, with the exception of that race to which the primeval religion was preserved by a series of divine revelations. The sun and moon were accordingly revered, as the beneficent causes of life and happiness; and the thunder, as the author of destruction, in every country; and the titles of the Baalim and Ashtaroth, of Phré and Isis, of the oldest gods of Greece, of Syria, India and *Ægypt* alike bear witness to the prevalence of this superstition, no less than those of Mithras and Arimanes.

But, as we have already observed, a new source of superstitious veneration was opened to the imagination of man as soon as his own ingenuity had enabled him to imitate the forms of living agents. That these imitations have been the objects of worship in almost every country, whether barbarous or civilised, is a remarkable fact; and we think also that it is scarcely less remarkable, that they were almost invariably identified with objects so dissimilar in their appearance, as those of the purer and more obvious, if not more rational, worship of the elementary bodies.

Worship of
Natural Pha-
nomena.

14. Wherever indeed the progress of elementary religion, and the civil constitution of the country, had separated from the rest of the community a caste of Brahmins or a sacred college of priests exclusively charged with the service of the national deities, they would soon apply to their own purposes these new and powerful incentives of emotion. The casual forms given by the potter to his charmed clay, or resulting from the clumsy effort of the carver to imitate men and animals in wood, were probably identified by the priesthood, through some forced or fanciful analogy, with the beings already worshipped. Gods would then be classed, monsters symbolically explained, terrible and perhaps sensual attributes would be added, the people terrified, and the art established. We think it still possible to recognise much of this process in the early and long continued forms of sacred sculpture which prevailed in *Ægypt*, *China* and *Hindustan*, as well as in the less permanent monsters, which were similarly worshipped in *Greece*, *Asia* or *Etruria*. The general resemblance of these pristine efforts of art may be perhaps more naturally accounted for by the common principle of them all, than by any very authentic record of early mutual communications; and there are certainly* observable differences in the style of each, which would lead us to infer their original independence of each other. We know little of the state of art in *Assyria* or *Babylonia*, the great depositories of primitive civilisation in *Asia*; but from the records we possess of the Jewish and Greek historians, we have

Symbolic
Attributes.

* The elongated limbs and attenuated forms on many *Ægyptian* monuments, and some of the early Greek and Italian vases, may be contrasted with the figures of *Elephanta* and *Ellora*, with the coloured metopes of *Selinus*, and the fictile vases of the real *Etrurians*. It is singular how nearly the rudeness and imperfection of these early *Etruscan* works resemble that of the degenerate *Roman* sculpture in the lower empire; were it not for the inscriptions which occasionally occur they would be classed with the barbarisms executed under the successors of *Constantine*. (See some of those which have been brought from *Volterra*.)

Symbolic
Attributes.

no reason to suppose that Bel or Dagon were less hideous than their contemporary deities of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*. That such images retained their influence, and were adored by communities of civilised men; and that they still continue to retain it in many parts of the world, present a phenomenon in the history of the human mind as strange and extraordinary as it was then familiar, and all but universal; for these nations, at an early period, in fact included all that could pretend to any degree of refinement. In consequence of their institutions they each arrived at a regulated system of superstition: they symbolised in monstrous representations the supposed attributes of their gods; they improved the mechanical means of representing them; and they introduced new or more costly materials for the purpose: but where hereditary or hierarchal institutions were established, they soon consecrated particular forms and modes of treatment, which became too sacred for innovation, and consequently for improvement. Invention in such subjects was soon limited to increased dexterity in mere mechanical execution; or not being encouraged to vary the established design of their figures, it was only directed to enhance their terrors, or to introduce new symbols expressive of the dreams of religious and sacerdotal metaphysicians. From such sources however the art derived its earliest encouragement, and from such institutions no nearer approach to the resemblance of actual nature could be expected.

Worship of
Images.

15. As we have already observed, the worship of images began probably in the vague terror of a rude people at their hideous resemblance to humanity; but in countries where a certain progress had been made, and in which a priesthood had been consecrated to the elementary religion, their influence was soon directed in aid of the primeval adoration. Man made his gods after himself; and the likeness was adopted by the priests in the progress to a more visible and lucrative superstition. Astronomy became fraught with signs and wonders; and the priests were not less ingenious in applying symbolically the casual figures of sculpture to the recognised deities of their country, than antiquaries and philosophers have since been found, in reconciling to their own preconceived ideas the fortuitous system of ancient mythology. The sun migrated through a hundred human forms in various countries; was adored as the bull *Apis*, as a lion, a cock, a ram, a wolf, and in half the monsters of the zodiac;

the moon and stars and lightning made a similar masquerade; but conjecture and philosophy have not always been very successful, though often very positive, in deciding on the causes why these particular forms were preferable to others. We cannot but suspect that many of them were casually adopted, explained, symbolised, and gradually systematised by the priests, who, especially in Ægypt, formed a community apart powerfully influencing the rest of the society. Once adopted and recognised, such forms acquired a meaning, and became permanent wherever there were similar institutions. Still we can everywhere trace in the names of their deities the worship of the heavenly bodies, and in their forms the prevalence of idolatry. In part of Syria, in Palestine at least, it was superseded at an early period by the purer doctrine of the revealed religion; and the divine prohibition of the Jewish laws, established by their conquests, left the idols of Canaan in the obscurity to which it reduced their adorers. The earlier and simple worship of Sabæism had also still maintained itself in some of the hardier and more warlike tribes, who continued to worship the sun and moon, and fire, as their terrestrial emblems. Among these arose the Magian ritual, and the religion promulgated by Zoroaster. Before them, under the conquering army of Cyrus and the Persians, "Bel bowed down, and Nebo stooped," the altars and images of Chaldæa and of central Asia were overthrown, and sculpture became extinct; for in these countries its representations were an abomination. Such, in the civilised nations of antiquity, was the fate of art, before the peculiar circumstances and character of the Pelasgic and Hellenic tribes had given it an impulse, till then unknown, and a perfection, which it has been the object of subsequent societies to imitate.

Worship of
Images.

16. A religion derived from such an origin, and professed by tribes and nations independent of each other, and under very different circumstances, would naturally diverge into a variety of forms; and this we know took place. The great visible and beneficent agents of nature, the sun, "that looks from his dominion like the god of this new world"—the moon, "rising in clouded majesty, apparent queen of heaven," with her starry host, became the primary objects of adoration to the nomadic or agricultural tribes in mild and genial climates. Of this system the sun was naturally the supreme, and was adored under a thousand names in

The Sun and
Moon.

The Sun and
Moon.

many districts of Asia and the south. The Bacchus of one local ritual was the Belus of another, and the Adonis or Thammuz of a third, and was endowed with attributes analogous to the effects he was known or supposed to produce. Those most generally assigned to him, as well as to the moon, the bow and arrows were suggested by the solar and lunar rainbows, which sometimes accompany their course. The Phœnician Hercules, the Delphic Apollo, and many other personifications of the same deity have these weapons assigned to them. But a god superior to other deities, when men became civilised, and the human mind enlarged, was also esteemed the father and first cause of all the subordinate divinities; and from being originally the ruler of the sun became invested with supposed omnipotence more or less rudely conceived, and presenting a train of different imaginary associations.

Personification
of Thunder.

17. Less favoured nations and ruder tribes in the recesses of the mountain and the gloom of primeval forests learned naturally to fear, and tried to propitiate the more destructive agents of nature. The thunderbolt has seldom fallen on the hut of the savage, or riven the trees around it without suggesting to his imagination the imagery, though not the noble expression, which occurred to the poet of Augustus:—

*Ipsè Pater, mediâ nimborum in nocte, coruscâ
Fulmina molitur dextrâ—*

To him his vows were paid—

*Mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis stravit pavor*

and thus the god, whose darkness overshadowed the sun itself, the cloud-compelling Jove, the thunderer of heaven, was enthroned on Lycæus, Gargarus, the Cretan Ida, the Thessalian Olympus, and on other less celebrated mountains, with many legendary names and local rites of various observance but homogeneous origin. In Greece his supremacy was the theme of their earliest poetry; but with the Greeks Hyperion and Phœbe and their Titanian brethren, the beneficent rulers of a golden age, acknowledged as older though less powerful deities, had been banished from their worship by his superior might. We see in the following words of the chorus of antient Argives in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus (v. 162, Ed. Wellauer) how much the sentiment of successive dethronements of the supreme deity until the establishment of the reign of Jupiter, was a part of the religious creed of the antients.

οὐδ' ὅστις παροῖδεν ἡν μεγας,
 παμμαχῶ θάσσει βρύων,
 οὐδὲν ἂν λείπει πρὶν ὦν,
 ὃς ὅ' ἐπειτ' εἴψυ, τρια-
 κτηρος οἰχεται τυχών.
 Ζηνα δὲ τις προφρονῶς ἐπινικία κλαῶν,
 τεύχεται φρονῶν το παν.

Personification
 of Thunder.

Jupiter consequently became father of gods and men; and in that capacity shared in the common attributes of other supreme deities as his votaries acquired faith in such metaphysical abstractions.

18. The confusion thus made between the primary attributes of the personified *Thunder*, and those which belong to Jupiter as the *Supreme God*, with other and similar confusions, gave rise to the popular and poetical mythology of the *Iliad*; and the same causes produced like effects through all the regions of polytheism. The dominant tribes of Pelasgi and Hellenes were worshippers of Jupiter, and probably of that Jupiter whose throne was on Olympus, and his most ancient worship at Dodona. The gods of other tribes, though essentially as great, yet with various names were admitted only in subordination to his power, and honoured as local or as liminary deities, as his children, or as assessors of his throne, or in the departments of ocean, earth, or air. Thus the Bacchus, Apollo and Hercules of Greece were yet in more eastern climates themselves supreme; as the sun with whom they were identical; and the mighty mother adored in Phrygia, as well as Astarte queen of heaven, shrunk into the Ceres and Diana or Venus of the poets and mythologists. The rank they thus lost in the popular religion was yet locally retained in the mysteries, which seem to have originated in these proscribed superstitions. The early civilization and system of Ægypt was available to give plausibility and consistence to these for the most part foreign rituals, and to account by ingenious abstractions for whatever was in its literal and direct application contradictory or unintelligible. The mysteries seem to have been founded on the original worship of the sun, moon, and earth, the beneficent and productive powers of nature, and gradually to have been directed to the higher and invisible source of these great effects. The popular religion proceeded as it began, enrolling new deities from every local tribe that acceded to the federal worship of

Personification
of Thunder.

Olympus; or adding new legends, and attributes to those already contrived in honour of the older gods. Thus all the stories of the Cretan Jove, and of the Arcadian Lord of all, (the Pan of Lycaeus, and Mænalus) and a thousand others were engrafted on the original superstition of the northern Greeks.

Worship of the
Elements.

19. The true and radical distinction between the systems of idolatry established during the first ages of the world will be found in these two great divisions, the adoration of the beneficent, or the propitiation of the destructive powers of nature under the supremacy of the sun or of the thunderer. Each was associated with the other by minor and subordinate personifications in the gradual complication of their European and Asiatic mythologies prior to any historical records. Their poets were older than their historians, but the abstractions of metaphysical allegory were by them already engrafted, even in Homer's time, on the simpler and ruder structure of the elementary religion: although in his poem Jupiter is still the thunderer *νμφερετης, νεφελιγετης* the cloud-compelling Jove, whose name *Zeus* is derived, we think with probability from the awe and terror he inspired. The power rather than the goodness or benevolence of the divine nature was thus personified; and consequently their legends however wild were free from the grossness and impurity of the oriental system of worship; and in Homer we find little allusion to the unmanly and indecent rites so largely ingrafted into the mysteries of the Orphic Gods by the Dorian race, which succeeded to the warriors whom he celebrated. The popular religion reflected the tinge of those feelings in which it had originated. The geological character of the Phlegrean promontory in Macedonia, shews that the volcano, and earthquake gave rise to the old fable of the war with the earthborn giants; and in the victory of the Thunderer we recognize the awful electric storm which invariably accompanies an eruption. Subsequent poets in later ages transferred the scene to *Ætna* or *Campania*. The Fates and Furies were the ministers, war and discord the employment; the retributive and penal justice of heaven, the chief function of the deities that the people were taught to adore. Such at least is the spirit of mythology in the heroic age of Greece, and under the dominion of the race of Pelops; and the poetry of a later age, being derived from Homer and the earlier *Mythi*, was deeply tinctured with the same gloomy hues in the tragedians of the

Attic stage. Thessaly, Boeotia, Ætolia, and the Peloponnesus were the
 antient seat of this dominant religion of the Danaï.

Worship of the
 Elements.

20. The Heraclidæ during their long expatriation and mixture had
 interwoven with their national creed a peculiar and zealous devotion to
 Apollo and a deference for his oracles. The return of these races, and
 the ascendancy the Dorians acquired in Greece, gave new lustre and
 wider celebrity to Delos and to Delphi;^b but their own traditions indicate
 that much of the ritual observed was of foreign origin, from Crete, and
 probably from Asia, where we find from the unquestionable testimony of
 Homer that his worship prevailed in early ages. Apollo was recognised
 as a national divinity by the Greeks, but he was the protector of Troy,
 and the enemy of the besieging force. His oracular rites, in the encreased
 consequence which they acquired after the return of the Heraclidæ seem
 to have been engrafted from Asia on the original stock of a dissimilar
 religion, which still on the old national system recognised in Jupiter its
 acknowledged chief.

Oracles.

21. The national superstitions of the greater part of Asia appear at all
 times to have been of a distinct and opposite character, though afterwards
 blended reciprocally with those of Greece. In the adoration of the sun
 and moon the Asiatics were led to regard them as the great productive
 and conservative powers of nature. Of creation and creative power they
 had only very obscure and indistinct conceptions; and that power, in its
 true sense, was not ascribed to the Supreme Deity either in the Grecian
 or Asiatic mythology till the later period when philosophy attained to
 those doctrines, which even then it involved in secrecy and mystery; the
 existence and necessity of a first and final cause of all things. "*Ex
 nihilo nil fit*," was a maxim as completely recognised by the rude re-
 ligionists of antient times as by the epicureans of the Roman empire;
 and an eternity of brute matter, a chaos or mundane egg was assumed,
 the changes of which were vaguely conceived as productions generated
 by time or darkness, or by the eternal sun, the vivifier and preserver of
 the universe. In the Grecian ritual this gave rise to a supposed series of
 older gods, the parents of the universe, and patrons of a golden age: for
 the supremacy of Jupiter could not be made compatible with that of a
 beneficent and productive being; as his primary attribute was destruction.

Philosophical
 Allegories.

^b See *Ion* of Euripides, *passim*.

It was accordingly to the Orphic deities, to the sun, moon, and earth, the Dionysus, Proserpine, and Ceres, worshipped mystically in Greece, but under other and various names adored nationally in Ægypt and in Asia, that the attributes of creation or rather of generation and production were originally assigned. With them arose the abominable rites, and gross and impure symbols in which such ideas were conveyed; such as we can yet trace in the recorded abominations of Palestine and Syria, as well as in the mystic rites of Greece, and through every phase of Oriental theology, except in the simpler elementary system of the Persians. The popular and poetical religion of Greece was exempted by its origin from such pollutions; and Homer scarcely ever alludes to them. The civilized and hierarchal community of Ægypt first refined these coarse allegories into philosophical abstractions; and ascended into metaphysical speculations on the operations of the deity, the source of those which long occupied the schools of Athens and of Rome. The scarabæus, apparently produced by the action of the heat of the sun on the mud of the Nile, became the symbol of his productive action on the primeval Chaos, and these and other similar allegories were successively adopted in the mystic symbols and esoteric philosophy of civilized antiquity. As these proceeded, the supreme deities of the two systems were reciprocally invested with each other's attributes, and blended into one, the Jupiter *μειγχιος* or the Apollo *απωλεσσας* of the poets, in whose verses indeed all the gods and goddesses became consequently as capricious as was natural to the human forms under which they are represented. The enlarged minds of their later votaries had recourse to many hypotheses to solve these incongruous and complicated riddles. The historians interwove the successive divinities into their early history as heroes or sovereigns, the founders of states and dynasties; the philosopher considered them as natural or moral allegories; and none derived so much advantage from them as the poets and artists, to whom they became the sources of inspired imagination, and the means of exciting all its powers. Scholars have tried in vain to reconcile theories, originating in abstraction and refinement, with a mythology that began and was accumulated from various sources in ages of ignorance and barbarism. The attempt has always failed, and convinced us of nothing but the extensive erudition and ingenuity which have been fruitlessly directed to its elucidation.

22. In connecting the origin and progress of the art of sculpture with the rise and nature of the idolatrous worship, which created an effectual demand for it, and thus constituted its first great encouragement, we are in some degree at variance with those, who, misled as we imagine by the early application of its productions in Ægypt to historical records, would infer that it began in rude attempts to perpetuate the memory of individuals, and to delineate and commemorate their actions; and that the subsequent adoration of these idols was the consequence of the respect in which the memories of such individuals were held. This theory is closely connected with another, which if partially true of the very early nations, will be found, as we believe, far less generally so than its advocates are inclined to allow. That theory has supposed the gods of the early idolaters to have been only men and women deified. In Ægypt the art attained maturity at a period so remote even from the date of the most antient records extant, that we certainly find it there employed in representing and commemorating the exploits of sovereigns, and recording their deification on its most durable monuments. For the reason however to which we have alluded, we cannot suppose that it began with these; and in other countries of which we possess authentic history it is not difficult to trace its progress. The Mosaic writings are our only available documents of this distant period; and concise as they are, they still afford on this point some valuable and authentic information. In these we find the first mention of images used for the purposes of idol worship, in the Teraphim stolen by Rachael from her father Laban's house, which images he revered as his gods. We are not told in what form these were represented. They were small and easily secreted, and were probably such as are at this hour the inmates of many a Tartar's hovel. In the same time and country, monuments are mentioned commemorative of the departed, and testimonials of recorded covenants. These however never seem to have consisted of sculpture, understood in the sense in which we use the term, as representing the forms of nature. Jacob commemorated his prophetic dream at Bethel by setting up and consecrating the unhewn stone of which he had made his pillow. A similar pillar and a heap of stones were the memorial of his covenant with Laban, and the memory of Rachael herself was perpetuated by a pillar erected on her grave. Such monuments indeed continued to be used as

Mosaic
Writings.

Mosaic
Writings.

Ante-homeric
Times.

memorials of the dead in most of the surrounding countries long after the introduction of idolatry, and the application of sculpture to the purposes of worship; and it was not till a later period that men were deified, or their actions recorded in statuary or carving. We think, both from this analogy, and from the nature of their religion, that the same order in the progress of art took place in other nations, although we cannot trace it in any written records. In those, from which we have more immediately inherited the arts of design, we know that the progress was similar. The poems of Homer are at once the most authentic record and the most unquestionable proof of the degree of civilisation attained by the Hellenic and Pelasgic tribes of Asia and Greece. An idolatrous system of mythology attests the existence of their sculptured gods; but we still find the "heap and pillar" the *τυμβος* and *στῆλη*, used in the commemoration of the mighty dead; and no mention is made of sculpture applied to the recording of human actions. Whatever might have been the case in Ægypt, it would indeed have been difficult at this period to have found in Grecian art the resources necessary for such an object. From its rude attempts at general representation of form and action, Homer's imagination might and did anticipate in its perfection the execution of works similar to those described in the well known shield of Achilles; but whatever was the supposed skill of Vulcan in its fabrication, that of his contemporary mortals was in all probability very inadequate to the production of individual or personal resemblance. Conventional figures of gods distinguishable by their attributes, or groups of figures representing actions, must have been familiar to him long before the sculptured form of a known warrior living or dead could be executed; which in such hands would at best have amounted to a hideous or ridiculous caricature. Accordingly no allusion, we believe, is found in his poems to such an application of the art, however usual in more recent times.

23. The well known and authenticated ruins of Mycenæ furnish us with, perhaps, the only specimen of Grecian sculpture now existing, which is undoubtedly of an age anterior to Homer, and erected by the family whose fame he has recorded. The carved lions, which decorate the gateway of the antient capital of Atreus and his children, are so remarkable, that we have given in a more correct and enlarged form the best representation of them which we are able to

procure, though not strictly admissible in a work limited like ours to specimens of art actually existing in England. They are important on many accounts, and our observations on them will be found accompanying the plate in which they are represented. They will enable the reader to compare the Grecian art of this its remotest period with the works of a still earlier date produced in *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt*. There is not only a similarity of subject in these and the lions brought by Lord Prudhoe from the interior of Nubia, but a certain knowledge of form and a mode of treatment are observable in them, which may seem to indicate that the Grecian artists were acquainted with *Ægyptian* models, or had acquired a similar style and degree of execution from *Ægyptian* instructions. This early resemblance in the sculpture of the two nations, and the adoption of the deities and legends of *Ægypt* into the popular rituals of the Danai, strongly tend to confirm the traditions of migrations to the Peloponnesus from the shores of the Nile under Danaus, Inachus and Phoroneus; and these are the more credible because as the progress of art receded from its spring, the divergence of the two styles became more and more apparent. The arts of Greece under the races of Perseus and of Pelops were nearly extinguished, and those of the Dorian tribes which succeeded to them were derived from different and probably from Phœnician or Cretan sources. The monuments of Mycenæ and the walls of Tiryns are we believe the only relics of their pristine civilisation, except their mounds and earth-heaped sepulchres.

Ante-homeric
Times.

24. We possess, in the collection of bronzes presented to the British Museum by the late Mr. Knight, some monuments of a date not far removed from this early period. Among these are two brass cauldrons (*λεβητες*), which like those assigned to the victors in the funeral games in honor of Patroclus, have been the prizes of the foot race. An inscription in very antient characters records the fact on one of them; and the other, which is without inscription, has a cover on which there are figures of men in the act of running. Nothing can be ruder in the execution; and yet these works must have been of an age not far removed from that of Homer; since it is difficult to conceive that at any later period these very ordinary brazen pans could have been of sufficient estimation to be the object of such contention. In his days one was of less value than a brood mare in foal of a mule, but of more than two talents of gold, according to the order of the prizes assigned to the chariot racers by Achilles himself.

Mystic
Worship.

25. During the revolutions which affected the progress of sculpture by the destruction of idol worship in the great empires of Asia, and the limited application of its resources to the ritual of the Ægyptian hierarchy, the Pelasgic tribes of Greece and Asia minor were peculiarly circumstanced. Their communities were small and migratory; their priesthood was neither numerous, hereditary nor independent. There were indeed some local bodies and families consecrated to the service of particular temples and deities, among whom the mystic worship originated in imitation, or possibly in emulation of similar institutions in Ægypt. This worship was established early at Samothrace and in Eleusis, in mysteries about which so much is read and so little known; but the national mythology fluctuated with the traditions of their bards and the imagination of their poets, till their ceremonies and superstitions, however similar to those of the other eastern nations in their origin, assumed in their progress a gayer and more popular character.

Grecian Poly-
theism.

26. The style of art partook of this popular character, and appears to have been indigenous; but in its selection and application of symbolical forms it was early and indissolubly connected with the mystic religion, which in the advancement and progress of civilisation became more and more prevalent and fashionable. This mystic system of explanation, with much of the ritual which accompanied it, we think was derived from Ægypt; where the style of art itself was essentially different. It has been thought, we know, that in the universal feelings of reverence, gratitude, or terror at the operations of the great hidden powers of nature, a cognate symbolical polytheism existed in the wildest fables of the most barbarous, as well as in the metaphysical allegories of the most civilised nations of antiquity; and that the earliest productions of art were in all of them representations of these enigmatical and symbolical personifications and abstractions. But to those who contemplate the progress of the human mind in the state of barbarous or imperfect civilisation, this conclusion will appear impossible. It is to the object of his feelings, and not to the abstractions of the understanding, that the savage pays his adoration; and the sun which enlightened, the moon which cheered, or the thunder which terrified him, were probably the objects of his worship, together with the whole host of elementary and natural phenomena, long before he generalized these into the creative,

preservative, or destructive energies of nature, so extensively engrafted upon the mystic mythology of the more polished nations. Symbols and personifications of these visible and natural objects would indeed be soon invented, and were probably among the earliest objects of idolatrous veneration. The admission of animal and human forms for such a purpose sexualized their deities, and opened the way to the explanation of divine operations and effects, by the analogy of progressive generation. The extreme grossness and abominable impurity of their early types and ceremonies were very general, and the public rites adapted to the brutal propensities of an unrefined people soon attained great extension and popularity. Such were the consequences which undoubtedly followed, as we learn from the most antient records, in Greece and in the east, no less than in *Ægypt*; and such are still retained in the pagan system of Hindostan. It became the business of the sacred and hierarchal communities in every country, as civilization advanced, and in *Ægypt* probably at an earlier period than in any other, to reconcile these licentious and impure popular rituals with the austerer character of their own institutions. They gratified the progressive refinement of their more intellectual votaries by inculcating the symbolical nature of the more obvious images, and by announcing the most awful doctrines of devotion, as mystically veiled under these incongruous personifications. The explanation, being confined in the first instance to themselves, and to such as they initiated, was probably lucrative, and at all events productive of increased veneration for their sacred character. We have few or no records older than those which are left upon the walls of Thebes; and the progress they announce in the religion and priestly dominion, no less than in the arts of *Ægypt*, induces us to believe that the mystic system arose there at a period long anterior to its propagation in the less civilized states of Greece and Asia. Thus, while the people were left in the unrestrained licence of the vulgar and sensual mythology, their superiors were gratified by a more intellectual application of it to the abstract objects of a more refined adoration. In a monarchical government, with a strong and established hierarchy, the demand thus created by the wealthier classes for imitative art would naturally be directed by the guardians and interpreters of such mysteries. This symbolical style was accordingly that of *Ægyptian* sculpture at a very early period, and religious enigmas as well

Grecian Polytheism.

Ægyptians.

Ægyptians. as phonetic characters, were elaborately carved on their monuments of granite, or other durable materials. But the abstractions of the understanding, or the manual dexterity of the scribe, are but feebly operative on the feelings of men; and the art which was confined to such objects, or directed by such motives, with considerable dexterity of execution and ingenuity of invention, never in subsequent ages appears to have deviated into the less philosophical but more attractive quality of impassioned representation.

Phœnician art. 27. We know however but little of the character of Sidonian or Phœnician art till a later period; and we cannot ascertain the degree in which it influenced that of Greece. It probably supplied little beyond the simpler processes of preparing and manufacturing the requisite substances. Of these the early introduction of the manufactory of bronze and brass by using the alloy of tin or zinc with copper was, perhaps, the most important. Brass was probably the hardest, and the most useful material employed by the antients whether for offensive or defensive weapons, or for the purposes of peaceful workmanship, till they had learnt in subsequent times to temper steel without destroying its malleability. The Phœnicians supplied the tin; and Herodotus records their trade with the Cassiterides, which we almost know to have been Scilly and Cornwall; a fact as curious as it seems authentic, though almost irreconcilable with the little knowledge of Britain remaining to the antients in periods much later and more civilized. The proportion of the tin used in bronze was about 12 per cent., or 12 parts of tin combined with 88 of copper; and the same proportion was found by experiments made by Sir Humphrey Davy on some bronze nails brought by Sir William Gell from the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and on a helmet brought from Olympia by Mr. Morritt, which having been presented by him to Mr. Knight, is now in the British Museum. This helmet bears a remarkable inscription recording it as a trophy taken from the Corinthians, in characters which indicate an antiquity more remote than the year 500 A. C. The same proportions too have been found in brass coins of later ages. The art of forming these useful alloys was probably acquired by the Greeks from their intercourse with the Phœnicians, from whom they continued to derive the materials of which they were compounded; they had themselves no direct communication with Britain, till Greece and Britain alike were provinces of the all absorbing empire of the Romans.

28. From the oblivion into which time and conquest have plunged the early history and civilization of Sidon as well as of Tyre, and her colony of Carthage, it is impossible now to ascertain in what degree the arts, which were cultivated there at this early period, resembled those which subsequently arose in Greece. The earliest traditions and the most antient historians record the establishment of Phœnician colonies on various islands and shores of the *Ægæan* sea; and it was from these that in all probability the Greeks more immediately derived the art of expressing sounds by writing in an alphabet like their own. To these also may perhaps be traced the introduction of some of their earliest mysteries, and the worship of their oldest Hercules in the island of Thasos. This early intercourse supplied their less civilized people with many legendary fables and mythological superstitions, in addition to those, which their own poets had brought with them from Thrace and Asia Minor, or had fabricated at home. But in Phœnicia also we find the traces of the early elementary worship in the little that is left of their idolatrous mythology. Their Hercules was still the sun, the Sidonian Astarte was the moon; and we recognize in their personifications the objects of an earlier superstition. The Greeks of Homer's age had far more intercourse with Sidon than with *Ægypt*; and we suspect that the mystic theology of *Ægypt*, as well as the early invention of letters, came to them thus partially transfused through the medium of Phœnicia.

Phœnician
Colonies.

29. Not only the art of alphabetical writing in a more complicated and primitive form, but also a symbolical and mystic theology had been framed in *Ægypt*, and transmitted through the sacred colleges of their priests, the great depositaries of their science and philosophy, as well as of their literature and religion, at a period of remote antiquity, of which we possess no other contemporary record. Under an hereditary and despotic monarchy, and a powerful hierarchy, their civil and religious institutions had produced an early refinement in social life, which, notwithstanding their jealousy of foreign intercourse, gradually influenced the surrounding nations. We find in the sacred Scriptures, a record of the trade which they carried on through the caravans of the Arab and Midianite merchants, as well as proofs of their maritime commerce with Tyre and Sidon. In every country, when commerce and civilization began to acquire their natural importance, the rude and barbarous rituals

Mystic
Religion.

Mystic
Religion.

and symbols of the early idolatry would either disgust their more refined votaries by their absurdity and extravagance, or would require the ingenuity of a symbolical interpretation. This resource was already familiar to Ægypt, and the more philosophic and mystic religion contrived by her priesthood was easily borrowed and applied to their own systems by the nations with whom they had any intercourse. From their unsocial institutions, and the mysticism of their sacred fraternities, the Ægyptian priests were not then so communicative as they afterwards became, under foreign rulers and in the decline of their order; but enough was known to occasion a general similarity in many of the most usual symbols in their method of typifying. To account for this, we need only repeat, that probably the earliest idols of all nations had already a reference to the same objects of worship, i. e. to the sun, the moon, and the visible elements of nature under human or animal forms. The mystic religion of Ægypt had been further advanced to the contemplation of the divine power, wisdom, and beneficence, together with their effects in the destruction, preservation, and creation of organized matter; of which also the passive attributes were traced in similar abstractions. From such similarity of origin, and through such extensive and vague generalities, we can easily account for the facility with which in every country the same system was applied to the interpretation of a cognate idolatry. This, which was national in Ægypt, and became so in other monarchical and hierarchal states, was local in Greece; and was adopted by local bodies of priests in different mystic temples by the Selli, the Cabeiri and Eumolpidæ, at Dodona, Samothrace or Eleusis, as in others less generally celebrated, or sooner destroyed. In each of these the priesthood applied what they knew or acquired of Ægyptian lore, to the explanation of their native rituals, or of those which they readily borrowed from their neighbours. This intercommunity of idols is notorious in the whole intercourse of the antient pagan nations: the Greeks found their gods in the temples of every country they visited, and the Romans admitted all with equal indifference. All in truth were from the same origin, and were easily susceptible of the same mode of interpretation.

Intercourse
between
Greece and
Ægypt.

30. From the time of Solon, and from a still earlier period, the attention of the Greeks was continually fixed on the learning and manners of Ægypt. Their artists studied in their own native schools; but their

historians travelled in search of the most antient records; and their natural and moral philosophers went to be initiated in the doctrines of the sacred colleges of Memphis and Heliopolis. We trace the influence of this intercourse in the progress of their sciences and in every branch of their philosophy. The initiated mystics no doubt adopted many Ægyptian symbols, and the Ægyptian interpretation of many of their own, and hence probably arose the notion that their artists had borrowed many of their forms from Ægypt, when in fact they had only borrowed the learning that supplied them with a plausible and ingenious solution. In the progress of learning and refinement thus acquired the arts no doubt partook; and symbols were introduced in coins and in other public works, when they had become sacred and intelligible in the acceptation of their country. Still the native art retained its original and popular character, and the enigmatical abstraction was never with them the primary consideration. In religion and science on the contrary we trace the influence of the Ægyptian system through every subsequent æra of the pagan world, till the complete destruction of the Roman empire. From the time of Cambyzes, when their mythology and literature expired with the priests who taught them, the Greeks, and subsequently the Romans, have furnished us with such uncertain and inconsistent explanations of the antient rituals, as were gleaned from the subjugated colleges of their own later times: and finally, when the purer doctrines of Christianity began to threaten the subversion of their pagan shrines, the ingenuity of imperial philosophers called in the aid of the old mystic system to counteract its effects, by affording if possible a rational explanation of the horrors and abominations of polytheism through the doctrines of the Isiac and Eleusinian mysteries, and the reveries of the later Platonists.

Intercourse
between
Greece and
Ægypt.

31. In thus deriving the invention and origin of the mystic and symbolical religion of the antient world from the Ægyptians, we think our view is confirmed, whether we consider it with reference to the time or to the places at which it is known to have prevailed. Though it was perhaps locally traceable amongst the maritime states of the Mediterranean, it was not generally popular in Greece at the time of Homer, whose mythology is of a ruder stamp. But as the unsocial jealousy of the Ægyptians was relaxed; and Greek historians and philosophers were admitted into Ægypt, the system was propagated not only in the antient

Derivation of
local and general
symbols.

Derivation of
local and gene-
ral symbols.

mysteries of Samothrace and Eleusis, but in the esoteric doctrines of the Lyceum and Academy; and its symbols became every day more numerous and enigmatical. A still farther extension of them took place, when a Greek dynasty was established in Ægypt; and they were almost universally received when the Roman empire included within its ample bounds almost all the civilized world. Considering the prevalence of the mystic theology geographically, from the long civilization and extended commerce of Ægypt we might expect some of its more popular symbols to have been exported to distant regions; and accordingly we find traces of them in countries very remote; but they are more numerous and more analogous to each other, as we approach more nearly to the seat of the parent superstition, and in exact proportion to the progressive intercourse which each nation held with Ægypt. They are most abundant in the maritime states of the Mediterranean in early ages, and less so in the more remote and inland districts of Europe and Asia, in some of which the few analogous symbols which were known, may almost be ascribed to mere coincidence, when we consider also the natural associations which may have suggested the allusions.

Indian art.

32. In the remote country of India a similar religion has prevailed; but as its pretensions to great antiquity, though undoubted, have not been ascertained in detail as to the periods of its progressive establishment, we cannot satisfactorily reason from its monuments. That many of these are far more modern than they were once supposed to be, we are assured by the enquiries of recent travellers, especially by Bishop Heber. It is impossible therefore to prove how far their system was influenced by their intercourse with Ægypt in later times; but in the earlier ages a great and direct communication between them is not very probable. The resemblance of their symbols accordingly seem to us accidental, as their style of art is dissimilar. In their wild mythology, with its many headed and multiform divinities, we recognize the work of a priesthood embodying the metaphysical dreams of the understanding in monstrous forms calculated to enthrall the imagination of their votaries, and support their own profitable ascendancy; and here also their ingenuity had devised a symbolical solution of the enigmatical forms which it had invented. It is not extraordinary that some of these, abundant as they are, should be coincident with similar representations in Ægypt or in Greece. It is not extraordinary

that some should have been mutually adopted or exchanged in the early Indian art. and wandering intercourse, which occasionally no doubt prevailed, though unnoticed and unrecorded, between the eastern and the western nations, and that this interchange should have increased as their intercourse became more frequent; but beyond this we have hitherto traced but little resemblance in their superstitions,^c and none worth attention in their style of art.

33. In the Grecian states, which thus adopted and applied the mystic and symbolical religion of Ægypt to the recognized objects of their own idolatry, the style and mode of representing them were essentially altered. The difference has been remarked, and its causes explained, by the observant acuteness of M. Champollion, in the *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique* (Chap. x. Sec. 130.) and we annex the passage at length in a note,^d which alike illustrates and confirms the conclusions we have drawn.

34. We have also thought it not difficult to trace in the infancy as well Early sculpture of Greece. as in the progress of Grecian sculpture the consequences of their peculiar and national institutions. Their mythology was essentially popular; and it was to the imagination and influence of their early poets, and above all to the celebrity of Homer, that their art was indebted for its character. While the stiff forms of Ægyptian deities were transmitted from generation to generation in immoveable and unchanged attitudes, at most only varied by some added symbol, or by the progress of improvement in manual dexterity, the ruder attempts of Grecian artists, though they perhaps display

^c There are some Ægyptian figures of Typhon, which look like the monsters of China; but the design and execution of others are totally dissimilar from those of the east.

^d "Le principe des arts d'imitation ne fut point en Egypte celui qui en Grèce présida à leur extrême développement: ces arts n'avaient point pour but spécial la représentation des belles formes de la nature; ils ne tendoient qu'à l'expression d'un certain ordre d'idées, et devoient seulement perpétuer non le souvenir des formes, mais celui même des personnes et des choses. L'énorme Colosse comme le plus petit amulette étoient des signes fixes d'une idée; quelque finie ou quelque grossière que fût leur exécution, le but étoit atteint, la perfection des formes dans le signe n'étant absolument que très secondaire. Mais en Grèce la forme fut tout: on cultivoit l'art, pour l'art lui-même. En Egypte il ne fut qu'un moyen puissant de peindre la pensée, &c.—Cette union intime des beaux arts avec le système graphique Egyptien nous explique sans effort les causes de l'état de simplicité naïve dans lequel la peinture et la sculpture persistèrent toujours en Egypte," &c.—pp. 430. 431. 432. 2d. Edition.

We are aware that the subsequent researches of M. Champollion into the monuments of Ægypt might have inclined him to modify the opinion which he has here expressed, as they have led his learned colleague, Professor Rosellini, to the conviction that the existing statues and sculptures of Ægyptian monarchs are actual resemblances of the personages whom they represent. But in referring to the acknowledged characteristics of Ægyptian art, and the peculiarities to which their origin has been generally ascribed, we may be allowed to adopt the received opinion upon a question which is merely incidental to, and illustrative of, our present enquiry into the origin and progress of Grecian sculpture.

Early sculpture of Greece.

little knowledge of design or proportion, frequently aim at expressing real or transient action in attitudes, which evince their early and accurate habit of observation directed to natural effects. Their figures are in motion and evidently studied from the life. It is true that the dates of their early works, except perhaps those of their coins, can seldom be authenticated, but on them the composition is often very remarkable. There is a very antient small silver coin of Argos with the wolf, the well known symbol of the city, on the stamped side.^e The figure is very rude, and the limbs are clumsy and ill formed, but the slinking and stealthy pace natural to the animal is clearly represented. In like manner their bulls are spurning the ground and lowering their horns, their horses prancing or galloping, their gods tossing the spear, or wielding the thunder, and their heroes in the conflict of war or of their games, in compositions of rude and imperfect execution, but of which the design and invention at least are perfectly true to nature. Is it possible to remark this striking peculiarity without attributing it in some degree to their early and universal familiarity with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? In these poems all is life and animation; men think and act and move before the eye in descriptions more graphic, more correct, and more precise than any perhaps which the chisel or the pencil have ever transmitted to us; and the actions of animals, as well as the appearances of the material universe, are described in casual allusions or in illustrative similies, but always with the strict truth of actual observation.^f Their gods have human forms exalted into strength, grace, or dignity, by the very nature of such a fiction. These poems, as we know, were sung or recited at their public games, and in the halls of their warrior chiefs; every ear was open, and every heart responded to their impression. The mythology, such as it was, was national; and the sculptor had to represent objects thus made familiar to every mind. The poetry, which imparted to the mind of Phidias the majesty of the Olympian Jove, had previously, we doubt not, improved his predecessors with acquirements less exalted, but at all events with observation and design. In a series of antient coins it is delightful to trace their progress; for as the subjects were appropriated

^e The early coins of Acanthus, Posidonia, and of other cities are equally illustrative of this peculiarity.

^f See the description of the dog holding the kid between its fore paws, enamelled on the golden *reproton* of Ulysses, as related by himself to Penelope. *Od.* xix. 226-230.

to peculiar cities, these remained much the same; whilst the gradually acquired skill of their artists varied the expression, and improved the manual execution to a degree, which, in works on a small scale, approaches nearer to perfection than can be well conceived by those, to whom such studies are not familiar. Still, beautiful as they are, the original conceptions are nearly the same as they were in the infancy of their nation.

Early sculpture of Greece.

35. The heads and likenesses of their deities appear, from the nature of the associations with which such objects are connected, to have been more sacred from innovation in early times, and in later ages also to have been less varied than other subjects by new inventions. It is difficult to account for the archaic air of the heads of the statues^g found in the temple, whether of Minerva or of Jupiter Panhellenius, at Ægina, which are in a style so much at variance with the more perfect and animated representation of the figures, but by supposing that the faces were traditional, and appropriate to subjects, on which the artist was not allowed to innovate. We trace something of a similar principle in the series of Athenian and other medals, where the early rudeness of the heads by no means indicates invariably the antiquity of the coin on which they are represented: but only that such representation was a received form, transmitted from age to age on account of the reverence attached to its sacred character. Artists succeeded gradually in refining and beautifying even these traditional faces; but they were never perhaps entirely allowed to innovate upon the character affixed to them by the religious prejudices of the people.

Traditional Forms.

36. Such innovation was indeed less required, after the skill and imagination of Phidias and his contemporaries had out of these materials embodied the standard forms of majesty and beauty best adapted to their mythology. The subsequent adherence to these known resemblances had always this additional advantage, that it gave to their ideal figures all the authority of historical portraits; and the compositions, in which such were represented, required none of the awkward expedients, which have been in earlier as in later times adopted, to render them intelligible. Definite ideas and familiar forms were annexed to the representation of divine interpositions so frequent in the epic songs of their poets; and the artist who transferred these to marble, possessed in them a language that was universally understood.

^g Now in the collection of the King of Bavaria at Munich.

Advantage
resulting from
conventional
forms.

37. We point out this advantage the more readily, because it has been perhaps too much neglected in our own more modern schools of art. Partly from legends, and partly from the popularity of some of their early representations, a similar kind of conventional portraiture was adopted in the paintings and decorations of the catholic churches for the different characters displayed in sacred compositions. At least the ^hgenius of Raphael, of Michael Angelo, and of Lionardo da Vinci, stamped a value on many of these, which seems to have restrained within certain bounds the invention of their less gifted successors. We think it would be easy to select from Italian paintings such types of all the principal characters which are suited to sculpture, as might at once be recognized, from the familiarity with which they have been contemplated in well known works. Such forms are still introduced with propriety in our funeral monuments and ornamental tablets ; and the adoption of such standards for delineating individual likeness would be attended with these advantages : all inappropriate intrusion of heathen associations would be avoided, and without detracting from beauty of design, the scriptural subject represented would at once be understood. A distinguished modern artist, Thorwaldsen, in his models for the ornaments of the Lutheran church of Copenhagen, has shewn that this may be successfully effected. We always regret amongst our own students that misplaced reverence for classical antiquity, which in the latitude of protestant invention, sometimes leaves us in doubt whether St. Peter or St. Paul may not turn out to be only Cynic philosophers, or whether St. John may not have been originally intended for Apollo.

Real superiority
of Grecian
art.

38. We have already endeavoured, in the Preliminary Dissertation to our former volume, to sketch in a general manner the technical progress of the art, from the earliest efforts of the Grecian chisel, through the breathing forms of Phidias and Lysippus, and the derivative schools of the Rhodians and of Rome, till it sunk into barbaric feebleness and ostentation. This art was long marked only by a variety of excellence at once so transcendent and so peculiar, that perhaps a degree of bigotry has been excited, and has at times prevailed in the criticisms of modern

^b See the success of this principle in Italian poetry, particularly in what is now called the Romantic School. Bello, Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto, all, with some few exceptions, imitated the same pictures, till the gallery was completed by the last ; who moreover frequently imitates his own, rarely deviating from his original outline.

connoisseurs, and among professors of the art itself, not always indicating a real knowledge of the points in which its superiority consists. Simplicity, grace, dignity, and ideal beauty, with many similar terms of admiration, are profusely scattered in the descriptions of antient works of art by travelling virtuosi and foreign academicians, without exciting very definite ideas in the reader, and sometimes misleading the student into unquestionable absurdity. Still we think that the superiority proclaimed is real, and that much of it in those instances where it is most acknowledged and most characteristic, arose from the very principles on which Grecian art commenced. Their sculptors, as we have endeavoured to shew, were led at once to the imitation of nature, and guided in their selection by the imagination of their poets. In studying only to express with force and truth the action or passion which their fancy conceived, they were unfettered by the conventional technicality of assumed graces of attitude, and beauties of form, for which they had probably no rules, and yet have left so many models. In representing action, emotion, contemplation, or repose, observation alone seems gradually to have led them to select such attitudes as might most perfectly correspond to the leading idea, and to impress it alike on every limb; as well as to adopt such forms from nature, as were found to possess the character and attributes which they were anxious to express. We think that this complete unity of intention, and the directness with which the means of art are applied to the production of the desired effect, constitute what is most properly termed, simplicity. This it is which enhances greatly the intensity of expression, differing entirely from that spurious simplicity, which professional pedantry produces, and ignorance extols; and which is in truth merely the absence of all expression combined with bald and meagre execution.

Real superiority of Grecian art.

39. It is then to this immediate and simple adaptation of the resources of sculpture to its ends, and to their arrangement in producing one single forcible and homogeneous impression, that we ascribe the charm of that *ἀπλοτης* or natural conception and execution, which characterize even the highest and most perfect specimens of art; and which, regardless of all such grace or dignity of attitude, as is incompatible with the simple and powerful delineation of the intended action or expression, impart to their figures an air of occupation, and at the same time of unconsciousness of exhibition, which are in themselves among the most effective causes of their power.

Truth of character.

Truth of character.

We notice this the more readily, because the admission of a different principle in much more recent sculpture has led to a false taste, and has principally contributed to disfigure some of the most conspicuous monuments of modern times. In many of the antient statues which adorned the stoas and forums of the Greeks and Romans, it is impossible not to have remarked the calm stillness, abstraction, and repose of their seated consuls and philosophers; or, if the idea has been to represent them as addressing the multitude below, the intentness, directness, and animation of the address. We take well known instances out of hundreds that are equally applicable, in citing the sitting statues of two philosophers in the Museum of the Vatican, or the benevolent and earnest attitude of the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitol. In the former there is not the slightest appearance of consciousness of the gazing spectator; in the other the emperor is addressing the passing soldier or subject, without the least indication of self exhibition.¹ Where a contrary principle has prevailed, whether in antient or in modern art, it has been uniformly destructive of its proposed effect. The theatric graces of representation have been substituted for innate dignity, and alike in marbles and in men indicate an apparent desire and doubt of approbation, which is incompatible with that character.

Representation of deities.

40. In the representation of deities intended to be the objects of actual adoration in their temples a certain air of consciousness was of course indispensable. Of these the natural expression would be that of awful or benevolent attention, or of dignified assent to the suppliant votary. Such have been accordingly their usual characteristics; and we may yet see in well known compositions, how simply and yet how forcibly the mind of Phidias embodied these ideas in some of his most elaborate works. The effect of them on the believing idolater must have been powerful beyond our present conception, though perhaps not always more so than that of the stiff or monstrous forms, which, assisted by the legends of the priests, claimed his reverence and enthralled his imagination at Samos, Ephesus or Eleusis. But these were long adored, like

¹ The seated figure of Mars in the Lodovisi (now the Piombino) Gallery, will at once occur to those who have seen and recollect it. The expression and animation thus attained constitutes indeed the principal merit of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, the execution being in many respects defective. It is however generally known, and illustrates forcibly the principle of which we think it characteristic.

many a sightless Madonna of later times, on principles of general superstition, quite independent both of rational feeling and of the resources of imitative art.

Representa-
tion of deities.

41. The same striking excellence of style in this respect pervades all the finer works of the early Greek artists. Their groups and their single figures, animated as they appear to be by internal emotion, never seem made for the purpose of being looked at. We have only to compare the joyous revels of their fauns, or the frantic dances of their Bacchanals, with corresponding representations in our operas, or by the artists who have studied modern theatric graces, to feel the superior conceptions of the former, which may be traced in many other compositions of less striking character. The well known and deservedly admired Venus dei Medici furnishes we think a most complete exemplification of the effects of antient taste, and at the same time reminds us of modern deviation from its principles. Who has ever contemplated that matchless form without feeling the delicacy, the purity and the dignity of the sustained repose and perfect unconsciousness pervading the attitude and expression alike in every limb. The lower arms and hands however were, as is well known, restored by Bernini; and in the mincing coquettish play of the fingers he thought, no doubt, that he added character and grace to the statue; while in fact that slight addition is so discordant from the delightful conception of every other part of the figure, that untutored observers, not aware of the cause, but who dare to feel and avow dissent from the indiscriminating language of established panegyric, have repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction and disgust at the meretricious action in a goddess, which is entirely owing to Bernini's application of the practised graces of the courtesan, to the breathing simplicity and loveliness of the queen of Paphos and Cythera.

Distinction be-
tween natural
and theatric ex-
pression.

42. A similar effect to a certain degree will always be produced, as technical rules become established in art, or as artificial manners are introduced into society. We have already noticed the advantage which early art possessed in selecting and representing unfettered nature and natural passions and actions directly and distinctly, in forms the most appropriate, as they occurred at once to the artist's observation. The talents of Phidias and his contemporaries carried this to the highest state of refinement; and the consequence inevitably followed: what the genius of his 'age

Technical
Rules.

Technical
Rules.

produced became from its excellence the model of the ages that succeeded. As models are multiplied by progressive skill, general rules are established with reference only to such models, and the range of art is limited. In applying rules to practice, their display becomes a display of skill and knowledge; and such qualifications are always too highly appreciated and too much admired not to be sometimes exhibited at the expense of true feeling. Their acquirement is also much more attainable than the higher but less obtrusive qualities of genius and judgment. Now the mere observance of a rule, unconnected with the feeling which led to its establishment, will of itself give to a statue something of that *air apprêté*, that appearance of exhibition, which we have ventured to reprove. It will of course be indicated more and more in the progress of the art, and will accelerate its decline, as the admiration of technical skill obliterates gradually the perception of natural representation, except when genius rises to vindicate itself, and by breaking through such trammels shews their narrowness and futility. Much of this tendency will we think be apparent to those, who compare the bold and free designs of Phidias even with those of the practised schools, which subsequently arose under the empires of Macedon and Rome.

Effect of conventional manners on art.

43. In still later times not only the style of art, but that of living manners also, became conventional; and the outward expressions of passion and of sentiment were regulated by the ceremonial of society. This is so readily acquired, that its influence invariably increases, till its operose and cumbrous ritual destroys itself by its own impracticable complexity. Nevertheless it is always popular and admired while it lasts, and art has thus another obstacle to contend with. Let the pictured and sculptured warriors of Louis XIVth, and the periwigged and furbelowed heroes and matrons of Racine bear testimony to its failure. A still clearer conception of the relative value of conventional and direct representation may be attained, by merely imagining the manner in which a painter would embody some actual or historical event, and comparing it with that in which it is most successfully and impressively exhibited on the stage. Conceive for instance the trial of Katharine of Arragon, and then contemplate in Harlow's picture the same characters in the portraits of our best actors, designed by one of our most ingenious and excellent artists; and we at once perceive the difference produced by the

substitution even of the finest conventional and traditional forms for the general and universal language of nature and reality. And yet this is the manner in which kings and warriors have been desirous of transmitting their memories to posterity; and the effect of it is visible in half the public squares and palaces of Europe.

Effect of conventional manners on art.

44. The grace and dignity then, which are supposed to characterize the antient sculpture of Greece, consist only in truth and propriety of expression, and not in technical or conventional attitudes; and their ideal beauty will be found in the happy selection of real forms expressive of gentle and amiable qualities, when such are the objects of representation. Nor ought we to overlook another result of the system thus pursued, since we possess in our National Museum a powerful illustration of its effect. Let any one, however unaccustomed to the contemplation of antient art, look once more at the frieze of Phidias, where each mutilated figure still conveys the definite idea of the action which the sculptor intended to express, and the life and motion of the procession represented arrest the most negligent observer. We have often heard such admirers remark how much the spectator forgets that it is not entire; so easily does the mind supply the parts that are deficient. And yet when we examine it in detail, how many and how important are the mutilations! But notwithstanding all that has been lost, that which remains is so completely indicative of the general design, that the feeling is unimpaired, and, as long as a limb is left, each ideal figure seems to remain before us. The same simplicity and energy of effect are still apparent in the Theseus, and in many of the other fragments, and in some of these the more so, because they are not dependent on the details of the execution. The sculpture is indeed unequal and in many instances defective; the surface in all of them is more or less corroded and defaced; but the masterly design remains, and will bear triumphant witness to the principle on which its efficiency depends.

Ideal beauty of the Greeks.

45. For the acquisition of a perfect knowledge of the human form in all its varieties of action, the antients possessed advantages in their social institutions which we have already noticed, and which have been often alluded to and appreciated by artists. Their baths, their stadia, their games, their habits of life, and their genial climate afforded opportunities of observation, which the improvement and reserve of modern manners

Their study of truth and nature.

Their study of
truth and na-
ture.

have withdrawn. The effect on art has been injurious, though from higher and nobler considerations it is impossible to regret the cause. Now the learning thus attained from observing living forms in natural action was very different from the mere science of anatomy, or that of the practised attitudes of models in an academy. By such studies certainly much knowledge of the human structure, and correctness of design may be obtained; but in the palaestra and in the field, the knowledge and power of delineation acquired would at least be equal, and would also be subordinate to the expression of the action. Accordingly we find such qualities in their productions; and where we find them they rivet the attention on the work; while in ours they too frequently recall it to admiration of the talent and learning of the artist. Wherever this is the effect the admiration is less justly due. In the finer arts, as well as in oratory and in poetry, the object is to strike the imagination, or to move the passions; we feel their magic influence when we are delighted, persuaded, or convinced; but we feel it not when we admire or criticise the author; and as often as we hear "this is a clever design," or "that was a most eloquent period," we invariably discover that the merit is of a subordinate and secondary class.

Drapery and
Accessories.

46. Such are then some of the causes of that superiority which most writers have ascribed to the higher works of the Grecian school; and which we have endeavoured to vindicate as real. There are others, which perhaps depend in some degree on imaginary associations. The form of their drapery for instance recalls that which is familiar to the mind of the classical student, and is yet undegraded by the uses of daily life. Perhaps also from the greater simplicity of its structure, and the ease with which it is arranged in folds, it is at once better adapted for representation, and more easily detached in appearance from the figure, which it partially conceals, than the fashions to which we have been since accustomed.

Effect of paint-
ing on sculp-
ture.

47. Other causes, equally contributing to the pre-eminence of Grecian sculpture over that of more recent times, may be traced to the lower estimation in which the sister art of painting remained in antiquity, and the greater influence which it acquired in later ages. Sculpture was first invented, and statues and models of some sort were familiar to men, before painting had attained the power of producing any better representation of form than the monochrome delineations of red or black

figures still extant on Ægyptian walls and Greek vases. In the infancy of their own art, and in trying to approach the effect of visible nature, the early sculptors without scruple availed themselves of every device to give increased resemblance to their imperfect models. They coloured parts of their works in basso rilievo, both on their walls and tablets of terra cotta, and by such means strove to give relief to, and heighten the effect of a complex and crowded composition ill adapted in other respects to the resources of their art. In like manner the eyes hair and drapery of their statues, so embarrassing at all times to those whose models are formed of one uniform material, were often supplied with colour, or attached in separate appended pieces of metal or gems, as may be seen in the marbles from Ægina, and in some of the specimens of our former volume. Such continued to be their practice in their finer works of bronze, and the still more elaborate monuments of gold and ivory; but in marble at least the attention of the statuaries was gradually confined to forms alone, and they invented such as detached these necessary parts from the body, and compensated by the increased relief of light and shade for the absence of colour. We may observe this contrivance in the sharpness and projection of the eyebrows and lips, as well as in the arrangement of the hair, and the folds of the garments; and thus a style of representation prevailed, primarily and peculiarly appropriate to the purposes of sculpture. The sister art of painting long wanted both implements and skill to develop her magic power; but she appears in her compositions to have borrowed the design, and followed in the footsteps of her rival. As her power increased it would be possible perhaps to trace her influence, as early as the refined periods of the Macedonian and Roman empires, in the management of works in relief, where figures and groups are raised on tablets of the same material.

Effect of painting on sculpture.

48. At the best period of sculpture, or at least in the best specimens of that period, the objects represented are nearly on the same plane or on a second plane only slightly receding from the first. They are in less crowded groups, generally in single rows of figures, and little attempt is made to indicate more distant objects. This gradual refinement had been the result of experience and improvement in art; for the arrangement was more complicated in some of their early and coloured compositions; but it became obvious that from the very uniform nature of

Decline of art.

Decline of art. their materials such attempts could hardly ever be successful. It was not possible to produce the effect of distance by the mere diminution of size or difference of relief, when the colour remained the same, and was throughout equally bright and prominent. The painter on the other hand had at command the resources of his pallet, and by light, shadow, and colour judiciously graduated, could relieve what seemed crowded, and detach what should be brought forward. But in process of time as painting became more popular, we sometimes detect in sculpture a fruitless attempt to imitate its effects; and, at least in some of the later Roman specimens, the figures are more crowded and the details more complicated; a triple distance is sometimes attempted, with a more minute delineation of objects in the back-ground, inevitably creating indistinctness and confusion. Mere love of novelty and enterprize will account for some of these corruptions in a declining art; but it is probable that the productions of the pencil had assisted in stimulating sculptors to this unprofitable emulation. In antient art it is only perhaps apparent in their works in relief, and not in the attitudes and accessories of their statues. As far as we can judge from the paintings which are left to us, the same forms and drapery were retained in these, which had been originally selected for the chisel, so that many of their pictures are little more than coloured bassi relievi.

Revival of
sculpture.

49. It is in comparing the antient specimens with those produced since the revival of the art in modern Italy, that the later predominance of painting becomes more conspicuous; we observe it in the style which was formed in Tuscany, and which became the model for the rest of Europe after the fifteenth century. In the provinces of the Roman empire long over-run by the barbarians of the north, the arts of design sunk into mere mechanical trades, which except from churchmen and monks had little encouragement, and deserved none. They were never entirely discontinued, and in the decreasing limits of the eastern empire, or in the sanctuaries of Gothic devotion, workmen (who deserve no better name) were always found able with more or less dexterity to daub portraits of the Madonna on gilded boards, to carve hideous monsters in stone or marble, or to decorate niches in a monastic building with saints in mosaic. Monasteries at least were somewhat more secure and tranquil than the rest of the world; and thither the arts fled for refuge: artists became monks, and monks became artists. Their studies produced nothing more

really worthy of attention than the illuminations of their manuscript books, which are, as is well known, often designed and executed with great dexterity and precision. Well wrought ornaments of gold and silver also retained their value, and for these a demand was created by the barbaric luxury of the nobles, as well as by the growing wealth of the ecclesiastics. These were necessarily on a small scale, and though they contributed to improve their manual dexterity and neatness, they exhibited but little knowledge of form or breadth of design. Thus among the monkish calligraphs, and the *orefici* of Sienna, Pisa and Florence, the arts of painting and sculpture first awoke from their long lethargy, and retained in the style of each the traces of their origin. The compositions adopted in the minute designs of the illuminators retained their hardness stiffness and formality, when transferred to pannels or models on a larger scale; but the details were elaborately and minutely expressed. These excellences with increasing freedom and improvement constantly though still timidly advancing, reached their most refined perfection in the pictures of Lionardo da Vinci, and in the finished bronzes of Benvenuto Cellini. Greater attention had now been paid to the relics of antient sculpture, but the design adopted from it by the painter was common to the sister art; and in the beautifully wrought bronze gates of Pisani and Ghiberti at the baptistery of Florence the tablets are in fact pictures admirably executed in bronze. The genius and enthusiasm of Michael Angelo created a revolution in both branches of the art. He studied the heroic and colossal forms of antiquity, as his predecessors had studied their minuter ornaments. Learned in anatomy, he displayed his learning perhaps too much in the exaggerated exhibition of the muscular structure, and in the contorted attitudes of his figures; but he at once shewed the feebleness and inaccuracy of the style, with which his own contrasted. The bold outline and broad execution of his frescoes superseded the meagre but finished minuteness of the earlier school, and he carried the manner so justly admired in these into his sculpture, where it was assuredly less appropriate. It was his effort, and continued to be that of his successors, to give to sculpture some of the attractive and picturesque character which in their paintings had become so deservedly popular. A great similarity of composition took place, and generally to the disadvantage of the sculptor. It is impossible not to be struck with this peculiarity in the works of

Revival of
sculpture.

Revival of
sculpture.

the Italian school from the time of the cinque cento, as it is called, to that of Bernini: their design in the hair, drapery, attitudes, and composition of their groups are such as are admired in painting, but are often ill adapted to marble or to bronze. Genius, such as they undoubtedly possessed, never even in its aberrations works quite in vain; and with much that is admirable, whilst attempting what is impracticable, they have produced effects, which a more timid and even a better regulated mode of study might have failed to attain. Among the productions of Michael Angelo the sitting figure of Lorenzo dei Medici (the Duke of Urbino) has all the merit which genius could give to such a system. It is rather a picture in marble than a statue; but so instinct with life, so full of imagination, so broad and shadowy and impressive, that like a poetic vision of romance, it captivates the coldest judgment, and disarms the pedantry of classical criticism. Other instances of similar nature will occur, but they are the characteristics of a manner, which we at once perceive to be distinct from that of antiquity. The style, of which we have given specimens in this and the preceding volume, was attained, not by the study of painting or of models; but by that of nature and of life, exalted by genius, and refined by judgment in selecting and adopting materials appropriate to its own purposes. Equal perfection can never be acquired by mere imitation; but must be reached by applying to the same sources, and treading in the same paths. Modern times have undoubtedly withdrawn much of the opportunity and encouragement which attended the earlier efforts of the art; but the genius of our own Flaxman, and the revival of a more correct taste both in England and in Italy have in a great measure reclaimed it from the false light by which it had been led astray; and we recognize in our contemporary works a recurrence to sounder and purer principles. We have always to remember that though the servile copyist of the antient artists can only attain to feebleness and insipidity, the deviation from their principles will infallibly lead him into absurdity and extravagance.

50. HAVING in the foregoing observations endeavoured to justify the claim we venture to make on the attention of the public for the monuments of an art so intimately connected with the religion and history of the antient world, and the intellectual superiority of Greece, we proceed to state the more immediate object of our present work, and the principles by which we have been guided in its arrangement. For obvious reasons we have been induced to retain in the successive series of our additional specimens the chronological order, which had been adopted in our former volume by Mr. Knight. We have indeed the advantage of his highly valued authority for many of our decisions, as we have extracted much that will be found most interesting in our illustrations from the unfinished papers left by him, and placed in the hands of the Society by the liberality of his brother. We have also availed ourselves of the acute and valuable observations of one of our most distinguished members, the Professor of Sculpture in the Royal Academy; to whose zeal and exertions we are deeply indebted: since his practical success, however universally acknowledged, is not more conspicuous, than the theoretical taste and judgment by which it has been acquired.

Principle of
arrangement in
this volume.

51. Even with such assistance, and with all that we have been able to derive from other sources, we are aware of the uncertainty of attempting to ascertain the exact age of a statue from internal evidence alone, when we have not the testimony of antient writers for our guide. Beside the fallibility of criticism, where the data are necessarily more or less conjectural, there is another great and almost insurmountable difficulty in the execution of such a task. The works of antient sculpture in our galleries are for the most part copies executed in some later age from earlier and more celebrated compositions. When we have ascertained from records the date of the original, we have classed the specimen in the same period; but without such knowledge, and when the style of execution is found at variance with that of the original design, their manifest inconsistency baffles all the ingenuity of criticism. We are not inclined to dogmatize on this hackneyed and uncertain topic, but we submit the reasons which occur to us to the judgment and indulgence of the reader; as those

Epochs of
antient art.

Epochs of
antient art.

Ægyptian Specimens.

who are best acquainted with the subject are precisely those who are most aware of its difficulty.

52. Our series begins with the colossal head called that of Memnon, now in the British Museum. In this and in the contemporary statue of black granite discovered by Mr. Salt, and now in the same collection, we have undoubted works of *Ægyptian* art, as it existed under the conquering dynasty of the Theban kings,¹ anterior to the date of our oldest historical records. There is a sweetness of expression and truth in the head, together with a sharpness and precision in the execution, and a breadth and simplicity throughout the whole, which admirably correspond with the observations in our former volume on the peculiar characteristics of the *Ægyptian* style of sculpture. The walls of the palaces or temples at Carnac and Luxor, and the tombs of Biban el Moluc are covered with paintings and works in relief now well known to the literary world, far superior in many respects to any of those later compositions, by which modern criticism has too indiscriminately characterized the national style of *Ægypt*. The artists of Thebes evidently possessed no inconsiderable knowledge of basso rilievo; and both in their monochrome paintings, and in such reliefs, they display an intelligence as to general form, and in the articulation of the joints and muscles not always discoverable in their detached statues. A freer spirit of invention and design pervades these compositions; the figures are not represented by mere traditional or conventional forms, but in historical action; with an attempt, however inadequate, to exhibit an imitation of actual life. In the lions brought by Lord Prudhoe from Nubia, one of which is represented in our second plate, we have a specimen no less surprizing of their skill in portraying animals with a truth of character, to which we have already called the attention of the reader. No considerable specimens of an earlier date have been sufficiently authenticated to enable us to trace the steps, by which they attained to this comparative excellence, from whence their later monuments attest the progressive decline. The power of the hierarchal colleges, which arose under the protection, and flourished under the establishment of the monarchy, seems subsequently to have also engrossed the patronage, and controlled the application of the fine arts, which consequently became from this period more and more

¹ Champollion Précis du Système Hiéroglyph. Chap. 9, pp. 285 et seq. 2d. Edition.

mechanical. The deities, whose forms were most probably at all times left more exclusively to the selection of the priesthood, were transmitted with rigid accuracy to posterity in the same unchangeable manner; and the embalmed bodies of the dead became the principal, if not the only model, from which sculpture was permitted to portray the living figures of human beings. The same characteristic style, with more or less dexterity of execution, always faithful to established models, and always independent of actual nature, distinguishes their works in every subsequent period of their history. At all times probably they were allowed a freer scope in the representation of brute animals, and were furnished with better models; for these have been often portrayed in Egypt with a truth and vivacity not found in the delineation of higher subjects; as the human figures are much more feebly studied, and are generally clad in drapery. A well known passage in Herodotus describes the original Egyptians as a race of negroes, black and woolly haired; but no trace of the Lybian physiognomy appears in their portraits, though the fulness and breadth of the lips and nose has by some writers been appealed to as confirming his account. The more certain evidence of all the most antient mummies hitherto discovered contradicts the supposition; and the inference from the paintings still extant on the walls of their tombs and temples is equally decisive against it. In these the colour of the royal warriors and of the native soldiers is invariably represented in vermilion. The female figures, and those of the Asiatic or European races are executed in a sort of pale yellow colour; while the African tribes with woolly hair and most characteristic features are painted black. The Egyptians appear to have been a darker people than the adjoining inhabitants of Syria; perhaps the suggestion mentioned in our note^k may be thought to account for this apparent discrepancy.

Egyptian Specimens.

53. We have stated in our former volume that the sculpture of Etruria is not distinguishable from that of early Greece. The prosecution of recent discoveries in Tuscany, and the valuable remains of antient art which have been found in Tarquinii, Cære, Vulci, Volterra, and indeed in almost all the old Etruscan cities, confirm us in that opinion. The

Etruscans.

^k It has been conjectured that Herodotus wrote the passage *μελαγχρῶς καὶ οὐκ οὐλοτρῶς* "black and not woolly haired," that the negative *οὐκ*, beginning with the same letters as the next word, had escaped the transcribers of our MSS., and that the notice of such a peculiarity of features is more likely to have been remarked by him than that of the common reading. Euterpe. 104.

Etruscans.

Tyrrhenians or Etruscans, whoever they were, either brought with them; or adopted the arts of the Greeks; and the numerous monuments, which have recently been brought to light are, as Mr. Millingen has justly observed, similar in every essential point to those of Sicily, Magna Græcia, and the mother country. In their tombs, and in excavations made on the site of their antient cities, we every where find, as in the south of Italy, vases with palæographic Greek characters, Greek deities, and the heroes of Grecian mythology. So true is the observation of Justin, "*non parùm, sed universam ferè Italiam (Græci) occupaverant.*" The inscriptions themselves indicate foreign origin, for though the Æolic dialect was apparently that which prevailed in the earlier colonies of Italy, and amongst its various tribes, they are often in the Ionian or earliest Attic language. Their native arts were either too rude to require attention, or were formed in obvious imitation of these better models; their style was adopted in the infancy of Grecian sculpture, partook of its progress, and was extinguished by the ascendancy of Rome, before it had attained the maturity of perfection. The works of Tuscan artists (*signa Tuscanica*) were of a more archaic mould than those which abounded in Greece when conquered by the Roman arms; but the distinction was local, which is recorded as national by the Latin writers; and the Etrurian school was only a branch of the early Grecian sculpture, for it resembled those of its contemporary artists at Sicyon and Ægina. Peculiarities of costume,¹ or of mythology will probably be found, and some have been noticed in our former volume (Plates 4 and 19); but if we class these with Tuscan monuments, we must allow Rubens, Holbein and Vandyke to rank as English painters for a similar reason. The date at which the arts of Greece were imported into Etruria is lost in the uncertainty of tradition. The colony brought by Demaratus from Corinth to Tarquinii in the 6th century A. C. is recorded with much appearance of truth; as the emigrants were not only received into the city, but attained high and important situations in the confederacy of the Tuscan state. Pliny mentions two Grecian artists, Euchir and Eugramma, as companions of this Corinthian expedition. But though a marble statue of Euchir the son of Eubulis an Athenian was shewn to Pausanias in a temple of Mercury at

¹ Such peculiarities are observed amongst the bronzes found at Herculaneum, representations of which are given in the volumes of "*Bronze d'Ercolano*," published at Naples in 1767 and 1771.

Pheneos in Arcadia, the two names implying *good work*, and *good painting*, Etruscans. appear apocryphal, as we find on so many of the vases which have been lately discovered, inscriptions recording that one artist had the merit^m of *making the vase*, and another that of *delineating the figures on it*: whence we may presume that the two names were devised with a view to these two branches of art.

54. The difficulties, which have attended on all attempts at classing these and other monuments of antient sculpture by a supposed progress in style, have been found insuperable. Each artist may be supposed to have had at first his own peculiar mode of treating a subject, and as one succeeded better than another, his manner for a short space of time may have prevailed within certain limits; and the obscurity which envelopes the history of a period so remote, and of regions then so little celebrated, cannot be dispelled by the few specimens of imperfect art, which time or accident have only left in mutilated existence. We can seldom ascertain their real date, though we may class such works, as they have often been classed, by some common attribute of imperfection: but when we recollect the state of society at that time, the predatory habits of the antient colonists, and the want of communication between small and inland tribes, though of kindred origin, or even of the same nation, it will be as easy to account for their occasional discrepancy, as to trace in their rudeness a general resemblance. We noticed in our former Dissertation such peculiarities as antient writers have recorded of archaic art, as far as well authenticated specimens and models enabled us to illustrate them; but in works of contemporary artists, and even in those of a single sculptor a difference of design, as well as of performance must have prevailed, according to the diversity of materials on which their ingenuity was employed. We should expect to find that as the difficulty of execution was increased, their efforts would be more timid; that their sculptures in wood or in terra cotta would be both freer and more accurate than those in hammered bronze or marble, if such were attempted; and that considerable skill in tracing outlines on vases of clay would not necessarily imply an equal power in carving tablets, and still less in forming statues. In such times a genius, whose celebrity perhaps extended only to a district of

Early Greek
art.

^m ΠΥΘΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΕΠΙΚΤΕΤΟΣ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΣΕ. See Archaeologia, Vol. 23, Catalogue of Vases, &c. No. 572, and many other similar inscriptions.

Early Greek
art.

small extent, might be making short misshapen monsters with enough of the human form to let them pass for gods and heroes, while another at no great distance produced long and stiff deities equally celebrated, and equally injurious to the imaginary prototypes. The same country produced works of great dissimilarity, as may be seen on the carved frieze of the temple at Selinus, casts from which are now in the British Museum. This difference should induce us to hesitate in inferring distinctions in dates, which even at a later period were evidently not general, and which further observation and discoveries might prove to be unfounded.

A. C. 600—
500.

55. Such must necessarily have been the variable and imperfect nature of sculpture in its infancy among small and independent communities, professing a similar polytheism, and scattered over Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, and the intervening islands and adjacent coasts of the Mediterranean and Ægean seas. Some very antient forms of their deities attained prescriptive reverence, and the Conical Juno of Samos, the Diana Multimamma of the Ephesians, the Apollo Didymæus of the Branchidæ, and the mystic Ceres of Eleusis were adopted or devised by a local hierarchy, and remained unchanged. Their temples, like those of Dodona, Samothrace, and even Delos, Delphi and Olympia, were at first only the central resorts of small and separate federations; and their influence was limited and local. The art had broken its trammels, and schools of great eminence had arisen in Greece, before the increasing celebrity of the Pythian, Olympic and Delian festivals assembled distant and independent nations to witness the progress of sculpture, adopt its lessons, and emulate its triumphs. These arose at first from the successful studies of the early artists of Sicyon and Ægina. In those cities, and in others which contributed to the systematic improvement of art in Greece, mechanical dexterity was previously acquired in the manufacturing of metals for humbler purposes; and the labours of the artizan gave rise to the establishment of sculpture there; as in more recent times those of the orefici of Tuscany led to its revival, and fixed its seat, at Pisa and at Florence. The Cretan statuaries Dipænus and Scyllis, who first gave celebrity to marble sculpture, carried it to Sicyon, where metallurgy already flourished: for graven and molten images as well as those of wood had long been known and executed. Where such materials abounded, and metals were refined, the establishments began, whose humble origin was

Working in
metals.

forgotten in their subsequent renown. "Diu fuit (Sicyon) officinarum omnium metallorum patria;" in other places the progress was the same, "Antiquissima æris gloria Deliaci fuit, mercatus in Delo concelebrante toto orbe, et ideo cura officinis, tricliniorum pedibus fulcrisque. Ibi prima nobilitas æris. Pervenit deinde ad deum simulacra, effigiesque hominum, et aliorum animalium. Proxima laus Æginetico fuit; insula ipsa nec æs gignens, sed officinarum temperaturâ nobilitata." (Plinii N. H. l. 34. s. 2.) In better times the bronze of Delos was the material used by Myron, and that of Ægina by his rival Polyclethus; but the brass candelabra of Ægina continued to maintain their renown as well as the bronze claws of the Triclinia for Delos. With these manufactures originated in their progress what may with some propriety be termed a style of art. It began in the admiration of individual excellence, and the adoption of that course of study and practice which had produced it in the master. The peculiarities of a painter, a statuary or a writer, which are not imitated, constitute what is properly called his manner; those, which are adopted and approved, determine the style of his school; and possibly of his country and his age, according to the degree of his celebrity.

Working in
metals.

56. Authentic specimens of the early period, to which we allude, are seldom if ever to be found; and we have no distinct knowledge of the differences which must have prevailed in the various schools that began to acquire celebrity about the 59th Olympiad. From that time however we may observe, though in imperfect examples, the germ of those principles which were developed in a succeeding age. Their artists had recognized and established the proportions and principal divisions of the human figure; this was soon followed by an extension of the masses, and the insertion of the muscles; a more accurate union of the adjacent members was observed; and much attention given to the termination of the bones, as well as a more natural indication of their appearance. There was indeed as yet no attempt at beauty; and their drawing, though more correct, was still hard, angular, and restricted, in statues, reliefs, and monochrome vases, whether of clay, bronze or marble. Some specimens, given in our former volume, may be referred to as copies from more important works of this early period; and we are also inclined to assign to it a statue of Mars in Homeric armour given in Plate 4 of this volume. A similar figure which had been found at Todi, the antient

Earliest Greek
specimens.

Select Spec.
Vol. I. plates
4, 7, 13, &c.

Earliest Greek specimens.

Tuder, in the ruins of that Etruscan city, is in the Ducal collection at Florence; and, like other monuments hitherto discovered in Etruria, it is not distinguishable from the contemporary works of Grecian fabric. Both are of very primitive and antient execution; for the bronze is in solid masses, not cast in a mould, but hammered into shape, and welded or rivetted together; after which the surface has been elaborately carved, and worked over with the graving tool. Such were the antient σφυρηλατα, mentioned by Herodotus, and such the Jupiter of Learchus described by Pausanias, and in our former Dissertation.

Embossed or plated work.

57. In large works of costly materials the method of hammering thicker or thinner plates on a nucleus of wood was soon adopted, and long continued; and an Ægyptian specimen so formed was given in our former volume. A quantity of valuable bronze might thus be saved, and in gold or silver the device was still more indispensable. The process was well known to the sacred writers of the Hebrews,^a and is repeatedly noticed by them in their denunciations against the idolatry of Assyria and Babylon. The colossal golden image which Nebuchadnezzar set up, and those which are described by Diodorus Siculus^b were gigantic models of wood overlaid with plates of gold. Plates of silver from the mines of Tartessus^c in Spain, (Tarshish) were a common article of Sidonian commerce at this time.

Toreutic art.

58. Such plates of metal shaped by the hammer, and then chased over on a model formed of coarser materials, are used for some of the most beautiful of the relicts of antiquity, in this style of work which is called τορευτική by the Greek writers and is the opus cœlatum of the Latin. The Greek name was derived from the embossed vases and cups to which the form was first given by the τορος or turning lathe, and worked out by the hammer and graving tool, as we learn from the allusion of Horace,^d and the repeated mention of τορευματα in the authors cited in our note. The Roman word cœlare (from κελον, or cœlum,) was properly applied to embossments in raised relief; it is used by Pliny and others in describing statues, and rilievi in marble; but primarily γλυφειν, and sculpture

^a Isaiah, xli. v. 7, ch. xlv. v. 10. ch. xlvi. v. 6. Jeremiah, ch. x. v. 30. Habak. ch. ii. v. 19.

^b "Diodorus Siculus." τρια ἀγάλματα χρυσᾶ σφυρηλατα. Lib. ii. p. 123. Wesseling. The statue of Jupiter or Belus was a colossus of 40 feet in height.

^c "Tartessus." Isaiah.

^d Malè tornatos inculdi reddere versus (Horace de Arte Poet.) See also Cicero, Euripides, Plutarch and Athenæus, cited by Stephanus, Thesau. in voce Τορευμα.

designated the execution of the chisel, the *opus incisum* of the Latin authors. Toreutic art.

59. The invention or introduction of casting statues of bronze in a mould of clay is ascribed by Pausanias^r to Rhæcus and Theodorus, the artists of Samos who built the temple of Juno in that island, and were contemporary with Polycrates.^s Such molten images of gold are mentioned at a far earlier period by the writer of the Pentateuch;^t and the practice was possibly derived or improved from that of the Ægyptians. It seems to have been unknown to Homer; and the hammer was accordingly in his time the characteristic implement of Vulcan and his celestial artificers.

60. In masses of solid brass, as well as in the Ægyptian blocks of granite and basalt, the material itself was too hard and unmanageable to admit of all the nicer indications of muscular details, and undulating draperies, even though the greatest patience and labour were employed in the execution of them. They are consequently omitted or but slightly expressed; but the general form is often well marked and rounded, and the surface soft and fleshy, by which an appearance of breadth and simplicity is produced, originating perhaps in necessity, but conducive to perfection, even when the necessity was obviated. We may observe in the small statue of Mars, which is represented in Plate IV., that the limbs are smooth, round, and accurately proportioned; though the muscles and joints are but slightly and imperfectly indicated: the features are sharp and regular, but devoid of expression; the surface and pattern of the armour and drapery are minutely and elaborately engraven on the brass, but without any attempt to represent the irregular forms or deep folds, which characterize such objects in reality, and which are found in the works of more recent and perfect sculpture. Such a style belonged to a period of the art, when the rising schools had in a great degree fixed a standard of proportion, and arrived at considerable accuracy of delineation, with some knowledge of the details of execution, when the material admitted of its display; in proof of which we may still refer to Etruria for specimens of contemporary Grecian art. So many of these have been discovered in the excavations

^r Pausanias in *Arcad.* cap. 14, sec. 5.

^s They are mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. 43.*) as inventors also of fictile works or baked clay. They probably invented the process of making it fire-proof and fit for moulds in casting metals.

^t Deuteron. ch. ix. v. 12.

A. C. 500.

recently undertaken in various parts of that country, that through the learned illustrations of the Chevalier Brongsted, the treatises of Mr. Millingen, and the correspondence of the Archæological Institute of Rome, they are already familiar to most of our antiquaries. They were almost universally of Greek fabric, their inscriptions in the antient Ionian and even Attic dialect, their subjects Athenian games, or taken from Grecian mythology. Many were of early date, if we may infer such a conclusion from the form of the language and letters used in the inscriptions, and the coincident peculiarities observable in the designs traced upon them. The figures are often accurately drawn, though the articulation of the joints and muscles is rather indicated than expressed. The limbs, especially the lower, are sometimes long and attenuated, but more commonly overcharged and swollen, like those on some of the Selinuntine marbles, though not in the same degree. The heads are peculiar in having the long half closed eyes, (the *ομιχτα μεμικητα* of Diodorus Siculus referred to in our former Dissertation, vol. i. Sect. 26.) the features excessively sharp and angular, the corners of the mouth drawn upwards, and the beards prominent and peaked, like that of a head from Selinus, a cast from which is in the collection of the British Museum. The heads of Minerva often repeated resemble those on the early coins of Attica, when the school of Athens was the rival, as it afterwards became the successor of that of Ægina. The figures, whether of gods or mortals, are generally clad in drapery, of which not only the folds and colour, but the material, and frequently, as in the bronze Mars of our plate, the pattern are minutely detailed. These very curious relics of antiquity are sufficiently interesting to deserve much more extensive discussion; but we have only referred to them as illustrative of the style of art which prevailed in Greece as well as in Etruria, when the schools of Ægina and of Athens had attained some celebrity.

Æginetan
school.

61. A more advanced state of the art, as it was practised at Ægina, produced the marbles discovered by Mr. Cockerell and his companions amongst the ruins of the temple of Jupiter or Minerva in that island: they are now in the possession of the King of Bavaria; and they form a treasure alike important to the student and historian of sculpture. The reader may best learn, in the very learned and able memoir of Mr. Cockerell himself, the details of this discovery, which furnished satisfactory specimens of the

general style of invention and execution at a time not much anterior to the Persian invasion of Greece. We find in the statue of Minerva, and in the heads of the combatants that surrounded her, traditional compositions, and features which superstition had consecrated, or respect for earlier masters had preserved unaltered in the progress of improvement; but such improvement is abundantly attested by the spirit of the attitudes, the increased accuracy of the anatomy, and the skill and facility displayed both in the design and execution of the figures. In the heads the characteristics of an archaic style prevail; the eyes are protruded, and full in the profile, the mouths a little open, with terminations inclining upwards, giving the effect of a smile to the faces, with whatever incongruity results from such an expression; the chins are long and pointed, and the hair arranged in regular and crisped locks; detached curls of lead or bronze appear to have been hung on the perforated helmet of Minerva, and other ornaments of a similar material on her Ægis; expedients which still shew the immaturity of the art at the time of their construction. Sound principles however had been adopted; for a striking attention to truth and nature is observable in the bodies limbs and attitudes of the fighting and dying warriors who are here represented. But one peculiar deficiency occurs in them; for though the forms and collocation of the limbs and muscles are faithful and accurate, they are the same in the recumbent as in the upright figures, and do not yield, as in nature, to pressure on the ground. The collapsing of the body by its own weight, and the consequent flattening of its under surface were probably niceties, which, though recognized, were not yet within the power of the sculptors. It remained for Phidias and his rivals, to shew in statues like those of the reputed Ilissus and Theseus of the Parthenon, how successfully this last difficulty might be conquered.

62. From the degree of eminence to which sculpture had thus attained its progress was rapid and certain. After the transient disasters, and triumphant repulse of the Persian invasion, the public mind of Greece was alive to enthusiasm and glory; and many of her states, especially that of Athens, flourished in wealth and commercial prosperity. The artists of that city, stimulated by the influx of genius which presided alike over every branch of their political and literary institutions, kept pace with the spirit of the time; but the resources and importance of Ægina were gradually

Æginetan
school.

Æginetan
school.

declining, and finally sunk before the pre-eminence of her rival. The short history of her prosperity and destruction is soon told. The island had been subject to Epidaurus; the successful assertion of its independence, and the advantage of an insular situation raised it into commercial importance. The coinage of Ægina with the device of a tortoise, and incuse on the reverse, still found abundantly in every part of Greece, was the most current money of account, till the active working of the silver mines in Attica supplanted it by the currency of Athens.

63. The maritime preponderance of this insular state was for a considerable period maintained in a struggle with Athens, which was only suspended by the Persian invasion; but although the extraordinary exertions to which Athens was stimulated by this event finally deprived Ægina of the high rank and power which it had enjoyed for many years, it was not till under the administration of Pericles that its ruin was consummated by the final expulsion of the inhabitants; after which the schools as well as the power of Athens were left in undisputed pre-eminence.

A. C. 500.

64. Sicyon and other cities of Greece and Ionia continued to produce artists equally emulous of celebrity; and we are assured by the concurrent testimony of historians, that their progress in design and execution consisted in an increased facility, a greater freedom and boldness, and a departure from a certain rigidity, hardness and formality, which had marked the more timid and minute treatment of the earlier sculptors. Such a progress would naturally take place, and might be presumed, even were we without direct evidence of the fact; for it has been invariably observed, wherever the arts have been cultivated with success. This distinction furnishes a presumptive ground for estimating the relative antiquity of existing specimens, which we could not otherwise ascertain; and on this principle, in the description of Plate XII. in our first volume, we gave our reasons for attributing an early date to the original composition, of which the figure there represented is a Roman copy, and which we considered to be the colossal statue executed by the elder Canachus, about the period of the 70th Olympiad, for the Milesian temple of the Didymæan Apollo.

65. The statue of Apollo given in Plate V. exhibits in the full and somewhat swollen proportions of the lower limbs, as well as in the treatment of the veins and muscles, and in a certain simplicity and squareness of design

and attitude, the characteristics of the same early period of the art. The head however displays much more beauty, and is of a model frequently repeated on some antient medals, but not that, which, after the time of Scopas and Praxiteles, was commonly assigned to the youthful son of Latona. The features here represented were probably those of the Apollo *καλλιτεχνος*, which Onatas of Ægina, who flourished between the 76th and 80th Olympiads, executed in brass for the people of Pergamus. It displayed, as Professor Müller has shewn in his History of the Dorians, Book iv. c. 8, Sect. 17., "great beauty of form, and a more youthful appearance than was usual in statues of Apollo at that time;" "the union of strength and beauty was conspicuous in it;" and the subsequent remarks on the style of features which was adopted in place of the ruder head of Canachus are singularly exemplified in that now under our consideration. "The coins," he says, "and single heads of Apollo, which must be referred to this period, do not indeed preserve the features ascribed to the work of Canachus; but still are quite different from the most celebrated of the statues now extant," having broader cheeks, a shorter and thicker nose; in a word the outlines are what the antients term quadrate or square." These characteristics justify the place assigned to our specimen; and we give it as an example of the style which prevailed under the later masters of the Æginetan school, anterior to the perfection which that of Athens attained under Phidias and his disciples. The Discobolus of Myro, which we have given in our first volume, was a subsequent link in the same series.

A. C. 500.

A. C. 476—
460.Predecessors
of Phidias.

66. The progress made during the era of the schools preceding that of Phidias and his competitors may be thus appreciated. Correctness of design, and discrimination in the proportions, as well as in anatomical details, were gradually established, when practice and ingenuity had prepared the means of representing them. The difficulty of execution in such materials as bronze and marble had not been so far overcome, as to extend that power to the expression of transient emotion in the features,

* The early form of the head of Apollo, probably from the statue of Onatas, appears on old medals of Macedonia. The more beautiful head on many later Greek medals seems to have been adopted from the age of Praxiteles. The Rhodian coins have one that is peculiar, with a nose somewhat aquiline, most likely from the celebrated colossus. The head of the Belvidere Apollo, which is also that of our plate of Apollo with Hyacinthus in Plate LI. of this volume, is only found on later medals and of Roman time. Its date is uncertain, though certainly posterior to those we have enumerated.

Predecessors
of Phidias.

or the minor indications of temporary action in the body; but the collocation of the limbs and larger muscles were more and more correctly ascertained; and in displaying this knowledge they treated them with even more prominence and distinctness than what is observable in the real forms of nature. The rigidity thus produced, with the grave tranquillity of the countenance, attended with great precision and exactness, and a breadth of execution, occasioned probably by the supposed impracticability of executing the minute details, constitute the elements of that Severe Style associated in our historical recollections with an epoch of Grecian glory, which the imagination of poets and historians have invested with an ideal and almost super-human dignity. It has been represented as partaking of the character of the time, and as having originated in a loftiness of conception and a purity of manners, which we should wish to consider as realities, if such visions did not vanish with the dreams of youth. The phenomena of art do not justify the conclusion: for unconnected with moral character, these were the same at Sybaris and Syracuse, as at Argos or at Athens; and strictly analogous to what the revival of painting exhibited in Italy, before its perfection was attained by Raffaele. This severity of style, however praised in subsequent ages, was so little appreciated in its own, that every artist of eminence in succession was anxious to escape from it. "*Quis enim eorum, qui hæc minora animadvertunt, non intelligit, Canachi signa rigidiora esse, quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem sed tamen molliora quam Canachi. Nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta, verum quæ non dubites pulchra dicere. Pulchriora etiam Polycleti, et jam planè perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent.*" Cicero. in Bruto. 18. The statue of Apollo *καλλιστενος* by Onatas marked one of the steps of this constant progression towards excellence; it was attained at last, and we see in the works of Phidias and his successors what may justly be termed the chaste and perfect Style of Sculpture.

A. C. 444—
432.

67. In the marbles of the Parthenon, which have been brought to England by the Earl of Elgin, we possess indisputable specimens of the style of design and execution which prevailed at Athens when Pericles administered the affairs of the republic, and Phidias directed the public works. We attempted in a former part of this Dissertation to point out some of the principles, on which so much of the effect was attained,

which is displayed in these invaluable relics of the finest period of antiquity. Perhaps we may be allowed to say, that of all human productions they approach nearest to ideal perfection, with the least appearance of technical study. The general character and expression observable in the larger detached figures of the pediment, and particularly in those which are called Theseus and Ilissus, are marked and decided; and on a closer examination we perceive that the very minute observation of details in no degree weakens or disturbs the general impression made at once upon our minds. We are delighted with the knowledge thus exhibited, but not confused, nor is our attention diverted by its display. Such is, and ever will be, the golden period of imitative art, when its possessors have attained the talent of harmonizing and blending subordinate details in one general effect, and before they aim at the more equivocal advantage of acquiring such effect by the sacrifice of them. The extraordinary combination of genius and skill displayed in these monuments of the best period of Attic sculpture, though not immediately connected with our present publication, induces us to dwell for a moment on the mode of execution, which appears to have been practised in their production. The instruments which their sculptors employed were probably not very different from those which are used in the present day; but instead of the merely mechanical method of working out the general form by the points now in use into a mere copy of the master's model, it appears, from the preserved surface of their finer works, that they have been forwarded by clawed tools of different degrees of closeness, such as are still employed in Italy, and there called *gradini*, by which they were prepared for the chisel. In this process the handling was more immediately guided by the mind of the master, and expressed more forcibly his intention and conception: we trace it in almost every uncorroded part of the sculpture from the Parthenon. A similar mode of preparation carried to a great degree of nicety is observable in the unfinished statue of Dirce by Canova, now in the King's collection; in Michael Angelo's Lorenzo dei Medici; and in his splendid unfinished rilievo of the Virgin with the Infant Saviour and St. John, given to the Royal Academy by the late Sir George Beaumont. We trace the marks of the chisel also over the surface produced by the *gradini*, and the rasp was apparently used, but always with a rotatory motion where the surface admitted of it, removing the rigidity of

A. C. 444—
432.

Process of
working in
marble.

Process of
working in
marble.

the minor subdivisions, and giving that equal and granulated appearance to the flesh most nearly assimilated to nature. The draperies, when generally worked out by the chisel, were usually finished with rasps of graduated fineness; but in close texture, and in the tunics of the female groups in this collection they are finished by the chisel alone, without rasping, and owe to this circumstance much of the lightness and freshness observable in the execution.

School of
Phidias.

68. Such perfection was the natural result of well directed study, when artists of genius, animated by the poets, had attained increased power over their materials, and when instructed by the works of the more antient masters, they retained what was excellent or admired in these, and added new beauties of their own. The marble in their hands became more plastic, and the bronze more ductile. The hair, massed and yet discriminated in their representation of it, made nearer approaches to its true appearance, and the drapery of their statues flowed in freer and more ample folds; the precision and accuracy of muscular structure were retained, but the outlines were better and more completely filled, and the undulating fleshy integuments of the surface were more elegantly and more perfectly expressed. A power had also been acquired, and was never more successfully applied, of representing not only beauty but character and expression, as well as action and repose. Their subjects were selected with wonderful judgment and discrimination, ennobled and guided by the heroic poetry of "the olden time," and applied by kindred genius. There still, however, remained a certain degree of veneration for the earlier and severer style, which produced, when the artists approached most nearly to the study of individual and actual nature, that slight dissimilarity of ideal effect, which seems to exalt them above it; and to have animated in their works, as with Promethean life, a superior race of beings. It was from this happy era, that their works became standards; and that their human, heroic, or deified subjects assumed in succession a recognized and characteristic type more definite and delicate than the mere addition of accessories, or coarser delineation of sex and character, employed to mark such distinctions by the older schools, could confer.

Praxiteles.

69. We have already in our former Dissertation described the nature and the progress of the change, which appears from this time gradually to have taken place in sculpture, till the pre-eminence of Praxiteles

furnished a new standard of ideal excellence to the students of his time, Praxiteles.
 and perfected a most seductive style of representation, which became for
 a long period the object of universal emulation. We have arranged in
 the succession of our plates, from Plate XI. to Plate XIX. such specimens
 as appear to us to be originals of this celebrated period, or to be copied
 from others that belonged to it. Pliny furnishes the names of many
 artists who rendered it illustrious, and we have recorded these in our
 former Dissertation; but few of them, except that of Scopas, are con-
 nected with works still extant. He was probably the sculptor of the
 original group of Niobe and her children, which has sometimes been
 ascribed to Praxiteles; but as we observed in our former volume, the
 style of it is different from that which has been usually attributed to the
 works of the latter master. As Scopas is placed by Pliny amongst the Scopas.
 artists who flourished in the 87th Olympiad, and the same writer adds
 that he was employed on the celebrated Tomb of Mausolus, who died
 in the second year of the 100th Olympiad, the length of this period
 leaves us in some doubt either of the correctness of the date, or of the
 identity of the individual.* The remains of marbles, the decorations of the
 Mausoleum, still exist, though strangely misapplied, on the spot where it
 once stood. They were seen by Mr. Morritt in 1795 in the modern
 citadel of Boudroun, which was then garrisoned by Turkish janissaries.
 These interesting relics consist of a few tablets, the broken remnants of a
 frieze, on a scale nearly the same as that of the Parthenon, representing
 fighting Amazons and Grecian warriors. They have been employed as
 materials, in building the walls of the modern fortress, not however by
 the barbarity of the Turks, for it was a work of the Genoese in the middle
 age. Some of the slabs are reversed, and some have the carved surface
 built into the wall. Mr. Morritt had noted them as better preserved and
 less mutilated than most of those brought over from the Athenian temple,
 equal to them in execution, and in design less massive, and of a softer and
 more flowing character, consequently of a later date.

70. We return from our digression to notice in this period the result Praxiteles.
 of an improved process of execution, attained while every branch of sculp-
 ture was rapidly reaching the highest degree of facility and perfection.

* Sillig, the learned author of the *Catalogus Artificum* *Dresdæ et Lipsiæ*, 1827, considers this
 artist to have flourished between the 97th and 107th Olympiads, that is between 388 and 351 B. C.

Praxiteles.

A still closer resemblance to actual life was soon observed in the representation of feminine and very youthful forms; and in these the appearance of real, and even of individual nature, becomes their most fascinating charm. In sterner features, and where they aimed at energy of character and a stronger expression, they exercised a power acquired by observation with more questionable advantage. They had learned to soften or to sacrifice the accurate but minute detail of subordinate parts in producing a desired and general effect, escaping from rather than encountering the difficulty which even genius must have felt, but which genius had enabled Phidias and their bolder predecessors more directly to surmount. Greater delicacy of execution and more diversified expression became objects of emulation, and the standard forms of sculpture were more minutely discriminated in their various subdivisions. Thus art became more technical, perhaps more perfect, though it lost some of the simplicity of truth and vigour of representation, in attaining consummate grace, elegance and variety.

Innovation on
the older
schools.

71. The statues of deities in the most ancient schools of art were almost invariably clad in drapery; even Mercury and Apollo are clothed in raiment on the old Greek vases, as are also the Etrurian Jupiter and the hideous divinities of Selinus. This probably arose as much from the difficulty of designing and executing the naked form, as from veneration for their sacred and divine character. The gods of Olympus were in the time of Phidias partly stripped of their accoutrements; but the goddesses were not, we believe, unveiled till the daring innovation of Praxiteles. The universal applause which followed his attempt at embodying in his Cnidian statue whatever genius could conceive of female beauty, exalted to divinity by tenderness, delicacy, and expression, condemned the goddess to perpetual exposure. We venture to class with his works two statues of the same deity, one in the gallery of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn, and the other in that of Earl de Grey at Newby, which was placed there by the late Mr. Weddell. From their close resemblance to each other, and to the celebrated Medicean Venus at Florence, we should conclude that all were copies, or at least studied from some favourite and highly celebrated composition of antiquity. It is not improbable that the well known production of Praxiteles may have been the prototype of them all. The Venus of Cnidos was naked as if just risen from the bath; and she held in her hand a garment over a vase supposed to contain perfumes. The

A. C. 360.

figure and attitude have been transmitted to us, though very inadequately, Praxiteles.
 on a medal of Caracalla and Plautilla, once and perhaps still in the royal collection at Paris. On the obverse side it has the heads of the Emperor and Empress with their names and style in Greek characters, and on the reverse the figure of Venus, with the legend ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ. The two statues of which we give engravings, Plates XI. XII. and XIII. have each of them a vase at the feet, not exactly alike; and that of the Newby Venus has been converted into a pedestal by an Italian restorer. On the vase at Woburn the mantle still remains. The arms of both these, as well as the lower part of those of the Venus at Florence, had been broken off and lost. The restoration of the Newby statue was copied from the rifacciamento of Bernini in the latter, but we doubt its propriety. And as the position of the body and lower limbs, which are genuine in all the extant statues, bears the strongest resemblance to that on the Cnidian medal, the slight variation in the elevation of the arm, in a bad specimen of declining art on a small scale, and so late as the reign of Caracalla, would not deter us from concluding that these statues were closely studied, if not copied, from the most fascinating masterpiece of antiquity. We have pointed out the impropriety of the modern restoration in the Venus of the Medici, and the effect which results from it is thus accounted for.

72. From the celebrated works executed during these brilliant periods Ideal Nature.
 we inherit most of the standard models* of ideal character, by which antient art has been so eminently distinguished. Phidias had transmitted to posterity with the impress of his mighty mind the majesty of the Olympian Jupiter, and the severe and lofty beauty of the tutelary goddess of Athens; and it was the boast of Praxiteles and his contemporaries to have given improved expression to the form and features of the youthful Apollo, new charms to the Venus, and a discriminate and graceful character to

* In the subsequent attempt to class and describe generally some of the objects selected and treated by the antient masters we allude only to the general style of the design, aware of the diversity of individual treatment, and of the limited application of even the best rules, which though drawn from the best models, will often rather fetter and impede than promote the progress of art. We all know how precisely the technical proportions of different bodies of architecture have been assigned. But every traveller knows also that no two temples are found entirely similar, or with columns exactly alike in their proportions. The deviation is not indeed without its limit, but there is always left a power of adapting established laws to the desired effect; and an analogous freedom was exercised in sculpture. *Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.*

Ideal Nature. the Cupids, Mercuries and Fauns, which with the young Bacchus, and many similar personifications, bear the stamp of this later era. A recognized division of style was appropriated to each, as models accumulated and became the standard tests of succeeding competitors. After Phidias the sculptured forms of deities partook of ideal nature, the minuter parts were more generalized, the veins were no longer marked, and a style of design was attempted, which seemed to embody the powers and energies without the imperfections of humanity. The androgynous characters of the mythologic Apollo and Bacchus supplied to the imagination forms of the most exquisite beauty and grace; whilst the youthful ease and intellectual superiority of the Delphic god were as distinctly marked both in the features and in the form, as the dignified sensuality and joyous luxury which characterize the patron of the vine. The general form of Hercules at different periods of his supposed life was gradually but systematically developed. The broad and prominent brow, the short curled locks, the head round and comparatively* small, the firm and solid features, with the inflexibility of the neck, the ample and powerful breast, the massive shoulders, the clean but very muscular limbs, whether displayed in action, or stationary in firm repose, alike combine in the imaginary character, to which alone such attributes are appropriate. In the ideal figure of Mercury, whom the legendary poetry substituted for the venerable and bearded Hermes of the antient vases, a head of great beauty, with sharp and well defined features, close curly hair resembling the class of the *Athletæ*, but with a narrower and less marked forehead, is placed on a body of which the arched and ample breast, the narrow hips, and light but sinewy limbs proclaim the indefatigable activity of the son of Maia, as clearly as the winged petasus and sandals, his general, although not necessary accoutrements. A certain degree of refinement in the details, and the graduated undulation of the smaller parts, which exalt the ideal form of deities, distinguish the messenger of Jove from the young sublimary heroes and pancratiasts.

Heroes.

73. These also constituted distinct classes. That of heroes can no where

* Pliny, lib. xxxiv. xix. 4, tells us that Lysippus reduced the size of the head in the proportions of his figures, but this was general, and his figures were also longer and more meagre, "*Corpora graciliora siccioraque*," a sort of elegance attempted in painting by Parmigianino. We often find small heads on much older statues, especially in athletic forms, of which indeed it may be more properly said, that the limbs and figure are large, than that the head is small.

be better exemplified than in the noble recumbent figure called Theseus Heroes. in the Elgin collection. With a form indicating great activity and strength the position implies repose, and the expression the necessity of repose. The corrosion of the marble has obliterated most of the superficial details, but in those remaining about the abdomen we see a finished exactness and minute attention characteristic of the earlier schools; while the treatment of the back and shoulders, especially near the supporting arm, is of great breadth and boldness of design, combining truth with a grandeur of form, equal if not superior to that of any existing statue. From this and from similar works a mode of general representation was adopted, which exhibited an ideal class of heroes as exalted above the powers, but not above the passions and sufferings of human nature. The parts more immediately indicating the action or qualities appropriate to the character portrayed were prominently marked, and were allowed to absorb the minutiae of form, as the art proceeded in improvement. We may have observed this characteristic in the statues of Hercules, and it prevails very generally in others of the heroic class.

74. We have another division in that of the Athletæ, first occasioned Athletæ. by the very early custom of commemorating the victors at the national games by erecting their statues at Olympia and at Delphi. In some of these imaginary portraits, which are still preserved in our galleries, the head is at times beautifully treated,⁷ and the form is selected with exquisite judgment, displaying a prominent but compact forehead, clear well defined and handsome features, but no exalted or heroic expression. The head is round, and the hair closely arranged over the small well set and crisped ears, in a manner not less characteristic of strength and activity, than are the squareness and firmness of the body, the strongly marked divisions of the muscles in well defined masses, the compression of the abdomen, the absence of all unnecessary flesh, and the cleanly marked articulation of the joints and bones. In all these the actual forms of nature are selected, and the character of the statue is preserved by a more minute resemblance to individual nature than in those of deified heroes.

75. The attendants of Bacchus, the Satyrs and Panisci, had long afforded Satyrs. a variety of combinations to the early masters, and to the designers of the

⁷ See the Discobolus of Myron, vol. i. Plate XXIX., and the Head of an Athlete, vol. ii. Plate XVIII.

Satyrs.

old Dionysiac vases: but it was about the time of Praxiteles that the forms were adopted which under these names and under the Latin appellation of Fauns, are now commonly found in our collections of antient statues. They resemble each other in having the same playful and wild gracefulness, transient expression, and hilarity approaching to beauty. In the progress of refinement these figures succeeded to the old equine Satyrs with horses' tails, and to the cloven-footed goat-faced progeny of Pan; but they retained much of animal character indicated in the shape of the ear and other appendages, as well as in the countenance. The round and healthy fulness of the muscles is knotty and tendinous in the body and limbs. The body is not compressed, but with somewhat of a Bacchanalian protuberance; the hair and features knobby, and the terminations sharp and angular. With such forms, and an expression of joyous gaiety carried to the verge of extravagance, there is no degradation into mere vulgarity of caricature; and the unerring taste, that avoided with such temptations a debasement apparently inevitable, was never more eminently conspicuous.*

School of
Praxiteles.

76. The exquisite style, thus systematized in marble, was destined soon to be transferred to bronze, and was further and more boldly developed by the genius and practical skill of Lysippus. Its general character, before the innovation introduced by him, may be traced to the works and principles of the school of Praxiteles. We possess statues copied from those of Praxiteles himself, if not actually his own, though we cannot ascertain decisively the time or correctness of their execution; but the small statue of Apollo Sauroctonos, now in the Vatican, has with great appearance of reason been considered an original work of his hand. The Apollo of Florence, commonly known as the Apollino, is referred to the same period; and the beautiful statue of Cupid bending his bow, now in the British Museum, and of which many duplicates are extant, was probably a copy of that which occasioned the story of Phryne's successful stratagem against the sculptor. We have given our reasons for ascribing the original of the Medicean Venus, and of similar figures to the same master. The tranquil serenity of expression, and the ease and elegance

* An admirable statue now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome represents an old woman drunk and scolding, of exquisite energy and execution. (The work is mentioned by Pliny, *vetulam quandam ebriosam* &c.) Nothing can more entirely illustrate the mode of treatment adopted by the antients in preserving the full force of expression and at the same time the dignity of the art.

of the compositions in all these is very striking; but in the treatment of the subjects there is little or none of that* ideal grace of form, where under well defined general masses the details are left to be supplied by the excited imagination of the spectator. On the contrary, whilst all the parts are kept in just subordination to each other, they are marked with the most scrupulous fidelity, and are not above, but strictly true to nature; and at the same time they are selected with such admirable judgment, combined together with such perfect harmony and propriety, and animated with such truth of expression, that the fascination is complete. The Venus seems inspired with the very soul of tenderness and softness, chastened by all the quiet purity and inborn modesty which add dignity to attraction. It is obvious that in these subjects the closest approach to real nature would only enhance their impression; and the improvements made by the school in masterly facility of execution first rendered such resemblance attainable about the time of Praxiteles. This probably gave rise to the selection of naked forms for his deities, who had already lost in the imagination of their more philosophical votaries much of the pious veneration paid to the well clad idols of the former age.

School of
Praxiteles.

77. There are other peculiarities of treatment in statues which we may suppose to have belonged to the same period. In those of older schools we can generally trace on the surface, where it happens to be well preserved, the marks of the chisel. In these, however, such marks cannot usually be distinguished, though there are exceptions, but in general the rasp seems to have been more freely used. The hair of the Venus of the Medici has apparently been gilded, a circumstance that would rather have preserved than concealed the effects of the chisel, had they not been intentionally removed. Notwithstanding the introduction of the Chryselephantine style by Phidias, and the temptation to imitate its effect by cheaper substitutes, we do not find that gilding was usual in the marbles

* What has been called ideal grace or beauty has been sometimes the result of a mode of representation, in which by the intentional absence of small detail, general form only was given, and the rest left to be supplied by the imagination. It is seen in the style of early art, while the true execution of details was a real difficulty. Such figures were assuredly not nature, but when all that was expressed was highly conceived and true in execution, they seemed above nature and not deficient. In the works of Praxiteles and his school ideal beauty is only selection of natural forms, combined in one harmonious whole, though seldom if ever found all united in the most favoured individual. In any other sense, ideal beauty will we think be found a visionary standard, set up generally as an apology for failure in representing reality.

School of
Praxiteles.

and bronzes of the Grecian masters; and we suspect that they were more frequently indebted for such misapplied splendor to the bad taste of their possessors at a later period. Statues of gold and of gilded bronze are mentioned in the time of Hadrian; and Pliny, xxxiv. 19. 6. says that a statue of Alexander by Lysippus, was covered with gold by order of Nero. "Dein cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum." The gold was however still perceptible "cicatricibus operis atque concisuris," after this second operation of the imperial connoisseur.

A. C. 330.
Lysippus.

78. We have elsewhere explained the nature of the revolution which the success of Lysippus produced in Grecian sculpture. His celebrated boast, (*ibid.*) that he represented men not as others did, "quales essent," but "quales viderentur esse," implies in the obvious meaning of the words, that he sacrificed upon principle, truth of design to effect. The facility with which he produced this effect, and the fertility and extent of his genius, eclipsed the fame of his predecessors, but they probably hastened the decline of art, in which his was the last illustrious and distinguished name: for the highest merit of the artists who succeeded him was the skill with which they imitated his perfections and approached his excellence.

79. Lysippus carried the art of casting works in bronze to a perfection hitherto unattained; and it continued to flourish in Macedonia and Epirus. From the latter country we have many specimens chiefly selected from the collections of the late Mr. Knight and Mr. Hawkins; and to the same school we refer those lately brought to England by the Chevalier Brönsted and known as the bronzes of Siris. These last beautiful specimens of toreutic art were shoulder plates of highly enriched armour, each bearing an embossed group of a warrior engaged in single combat with an amazon. They were accidentally discovered by digging in the field on which Pyrrhus gained his first victory over the Roman forces, near the banks of the Siris. According to the narrative of Plutarch, the armour of the king was a part of the spoil of that eventful day; and at all events little doubt can remain that the fragments which were found belonged to armour similarly enriched, and worn by some distinguished Epirotic leader. No coins shew more exquisite perfection of execution than those of Epirus under the reign of Pyrrhus; and no where have the arts cultivated at his court been more successfully displayed than in these interesting relics. They are most remarkable for the degree of elegance and refinement in which they were

conceived and finished, rivalling on a small scale whatever has been left of elaborate art whether in medals or cameos. These merits were perceptible under every disadvantage of partial decay, mutilation and corrosion.

80. The bronzes found at Paramythia, a modern town in Epirus, not far from the site of the oracle of Dodona, have been frequently alluded to in this work. Specimens of some of them were given in our first volume, and others will form part of the present publication. The information which we are enabled to communicate respecting them is chiefly derived from the papers of the late Mr. Knight, and from our associate, Mr. Hawkins. The discovery took place partly in the year 1792 and partly in 1796: of the nineteen objects which are still preserved, all of very great merit, and all nearly of the same school and the same period, the greater part were rescued from the hands of a copper-smith at Joannina, who had bought them for the value of the metal. A Greek merchant of that place, who had observed similar objects in the museum of a collector at Moscow, saw them there, and conceiving that they would prove a source of profitable speculation, purchased a portion of them, which, according to the information furnished to Mr. Knight, were bought at St. Petersburg by the Empress Catherine. Her death occurring before the transfer, and her successor declining to complete the purchase, they were jointly taken and divided by one of the family of Czernicheff, and M. de Wierislawsky of Warsaw, whose share was afterwards bought by Mr. Knight, and is now with the rest of his bronzes in the British Museum. This latter gentleman had been apprised of the importance of the discovery by having met with and purchased one found with them, the property of a Greek dealer at Smyrna, and brought to England by another Greek, (Thomas Amaxari) Dragoman to the Turkish Ambassador in London. Two others were given also to Mr. Knight by the Earl of Aberdeen; and Mr. Hawkins is in possession of two which he obtained at Joannina. The following detailed notice of the several objects of this discovery, and of the manner in which they are disposed of, will not be without interest. Those which were purchased by M. de Czernicheff are i. A figure of Jupiter, similar in size to that engraved in Plate XXXII. of our first volume, but of a harder and more antient style of work. ii. A naked Faun of the same size and manner, with a crisped beard, goat's ears and dewlaps, standing on tiptoe, and stretching his arms over his head as if

Lysippus.

Bronzes of
Paramythia.

recently awakened, a work exquisitely finished and preserved. iii. A naked Cupid, rather smaller and of less antient and less valuable work, but still very good. iv. A triple figure of Diana, or Hecate, half the size of the Cupid, and of inferior execution. v. A draped female figure, eighteen inches in height, with a diadem, probably a Juno, entire and in perfect preservation, of a good period, but inferior in elegance and delicacy to the Dione, engraved in our present volume. Those which Mr. Knight purchased from M. de Wierislawsky, are, vi. The Jupiter, engraved in vol. i. Plate XXXII. vii. The androgynous Apollo, vol. i. Plates XLIII. and XLIV. viii. The Serapis, vol. i. Plate LXIII. ix. The Dioscuros, vol. ii. Plate XXII. x. The Dione, vol. ii. Plate XXIII. xi. A Venus drawing on her sandal, mutilated. xii. A Ram bearing Ulysses from the cave of the Cyclops, two inches and a half long. xiii. A full face of Apollo or the Sun, in relief on a circular disk with luxuriant hair flowing back over a fillet: this and the last work are of a rather coarser style. That which Mr. Knight had already acquired in England was xiv. The Jupiter, engraved in vol. i. Plates LII. and LIII. The two presented to Mr. Knight by the Earl of Aberdeen are, xv. The fragment of an arm, seven inches and a half long, from the shoulder, entire except the third finger of the hand, equal in excellence to any extant work. xvi. The foot and fetlock of a Bull. The two in possession of Mr. Hawkins are, xvii. The bronze tablet representing Venus and Adonis, engraved in vol. ii. Plate XX. xviii. The Mercury, vol. ii. Plate XXI. To which is to be added the naked figure of a Hercules of the same size with No. v. but of coarser work, which had also been sent to Russia. Of all discoveries which have occurred in our time, few, if any, have been of more importance to the elucidation of antient art.

81. These figures are in general finished in the same style with silver eyes, and seem to have been accompanied with accessory attributes of the same material, such as pateras, sceptres of deities, thunderbolts of Jupiter, the caduceus of Mercury, and the club and lion's skin of Hercules. The barbarians who destroyed them, insensible of the value of the workmanship, understood at least that of the materials, and in their thirst for plunder, broke off the heads or arms to which the silver emblems were attached. Few were found without such mutilation; but the bronze was thrown aside; and the great number discovered in one spot induces a conjecture

that the destruction was occasioned rather by some rude act of military violence or of civil commotion, than by accident or neglect. It is not improbable that this took place during the ravages committed by the Romans immediately after the conquest of Macedonia, when seventy cities of Epirus were delivered up to plunder at the same moment on a pre-concerted signal. The inhabitants suffered more severely than their gods, for 150,000 Epirots, in profound peace, sanctioned by antient treaties, and cemented by national friendship and benefits, as well as by mutual intimacy, became the victims of their own hospitality, and were sold as slaves. Such were the military republicans of Rome; but as their taste for plunder became more refined, they filled the city with Greek sculpture and the spoil of more civilized communities.

Bronzes of
Paramythia.

A. C. 167.

82. The disturbances of Greece and Macedonia under the successors of Alexander suspended the encouragement of art in those countries, and transferred it to the more powerful patronage of the dynasties of Syria and Ægypt. The situation and power of Rhodes produced artists of yet higher merit and worthy of a better time. Chares of Lindus, a scholar of Lysippus, there erected the Colossus; and the Laocoon, and the Toro Farnese at Naples, still maintain the fame of the Rhodian school. These treasures were carried thence to Rome the common receptacle of the plunder of the civilized world. The style of work which they present seems to be of an age posterior to Lysippus, and offers no peculiarities which are not common to those of contemporary artists in other places; though they are of high excellence and distinguished character in execution.

Rhodian
School.

83. Specimens of Grecian art under the Ptolemies are afforded in the female heads given in Plates XXXIX. XL. and XLI. and the supposed portrait of Augustus, in basalt, Plate XLVI. is a production of the same school.

Ptolemean
age.

84. The art of sculpture in Rome was always exotic. The fictile gods of her early worship, manufactured by Tuscan hands, had supplied the republic with objects of superstitious veneration. After the subjugation of Greece the chef d'œuvres of art were coveted by ambition or luxury; the fabrication of statues was encouraged by Roman rulers, and delegated to Grecian slaves. Copies of celebrated works were multiplied; and several of these exhibit great power of execution; but in original monuments, when not studied from Grecian models, the style that prevailed under the

Roman art.

Roman art.

Roman empire is manifestly distinct from that of Greece. The busts and medals of the Imperial families are generally finished in the manner of a miniature, the details beautifully expressed, and the likenesses elaborately preserved; but they are far inferior in breadth and energy to the portraits of Greece, or to those of the Macedonian dynasties. They bear to these the same relation which the finished portraits of Vandyke do to the masterly delineations of Titian and Morone. Under Hadrian, and for a short period, the purer Greek schools became objects of emulation; and works were executed that sometimes recal their manner. The merit of these productions will be recognized in the specimens which we have given: but in the following period, though the magnificence displayed in costly materials continued to excite wonder and admiration, and to flatter the vanity of the rulers of the world, taste and genius became alike extinct with the spirit that produced them, and with the art which they had encouraged.







PLATE I.

THIS very remarkable specimen of Ægyptian sculpture, in what we may call its most flourishing period, was found within the ruins of a building commonly called the Memnonion, in that part of Thebes which is situated on the left bank of the Nile. It has been frequently noticed and admired from the time of Norden to the present day: but we are not aware that sufficient justice had been done to it, as a work of art, by the engraver before the execution of the plate now given. The sitting statue of which it formed a part would if erect have been about twenty-five feet in height. This and another of the same size and character had been placed, one on each side of the principal staircase leading to the grand hall of the temple. The building itself as appears from the inscriptions on its walls, and on all the statues with which it was adorned, was erected by Rameses the great, the Sesostris of Herodotus. The precise period of the reign of this monarch is still uncertain: one of the more recent inquirers into hieroglyphical monuments, Mr. Wilkinson, is of opinion that he was the last king but one of the eighteenth dynasty and that he reigned between 1355 and 1289 B. C.: Rosellini, the companion of Champollion, places him the last but three of the same dynasty, and between 1565 and 1499 B. C.

The head is generally known by the name of "The Young Memnon;" but we have no authority for giving to it a title, which it owes to its youthful appearance and to the spot in which it was found.

The British Museum is indebted for the possession of this monument to the joint exertions and liberality of Mr. Salt, late His Majesty's Consul General in Ægypt, Mr. Lewis Burckhardt, the African traveller, and Mr. Belzoni.



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PLATE II.

WE refer the reader to our prefatory remarks for the details of the situation, in which this colossal figure of a lion with another of the same size and similar execution, was found by Lord Prudhoe in the year 1829, by whom they were brought to England, and have since been presented to the National Gallery. The inscriptions upon the two bear the name of Amenoph the third, who, according to the latest interpretations of Ægyptian hieroglyphics, ascended the throne of Ægypt and its dependent states, in the latter half of the first century after the Exodus of the Israelites.

When discovered by Lord Prudhoe these noble works were in the highest preservation, and nearly as perfect, as when they came from the hands of the sculptor. They were broken by the persons who conducted their removal, and we believe intentionally, in order to facilitate their conveyance to the bank of the Nile.

As works of art they display not only wonderful skill in producing a soft and undulating surface on a very hard and intractable material, but surprising knowledge of the animal structure, especially in the position and termination of the bones. At the time in which these lions, and the subject of our preceding plate were executed, sculpture undoubtedly promised a perfection of excellence, which in Ægypt it was not destined to attain; and the truth, feeling, and grandeur displayed in this specimen make us deeply regret the trammels by which the artists of that country were afterwards confined.



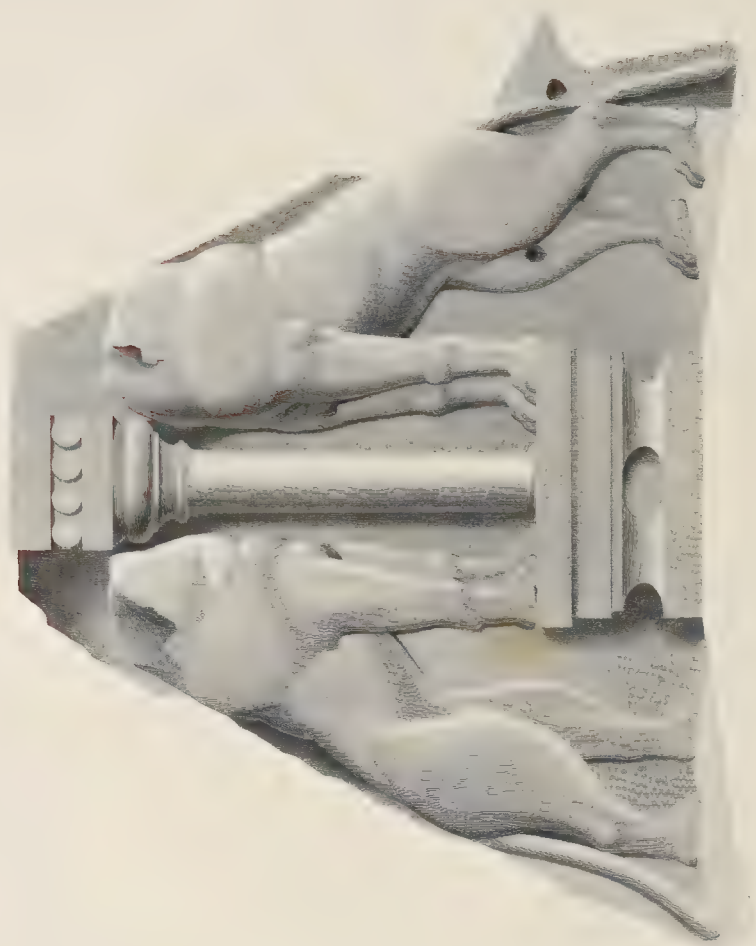


PLATE III.

THE specimen of very antient Grecian sculpture, represented in this Plate, still exists in its original situation over the massive gateway of Mycenæ, carved in the same primitive lime-stone of which the walls of the city are built. It has been already noticed in Sect. 30. of the preliminary dissertation to our former volume, and in Sect. 23. of the prefatory remarks to the present volume.

The Plate, which is engraved from a drawing made on the spot by Mr. Hawkins, one of our associates, on a larger scale than any with which we are acquainted, conveys a very correct and adequate idea of the low relief and peculiar style of the original. The skill displayed in working the stone is the more remarkable, as the singular base and capital, the inverted proportions of the column which tapers from above, and the position of the two lions resembling heraldic supporters, indicate a period very remote from the cultivated times of Greece.

Pausanias, in his short notice of this monument, says that it was attributed, together with the walls of Tiryns, to the Cyclops: and from the application of the epithet *κυκλωπις* to the city of Mycenæ by Euripides, Iph. in Aul. 265., we may conclude that this tradition was current in Greece at least six centuries earlier.



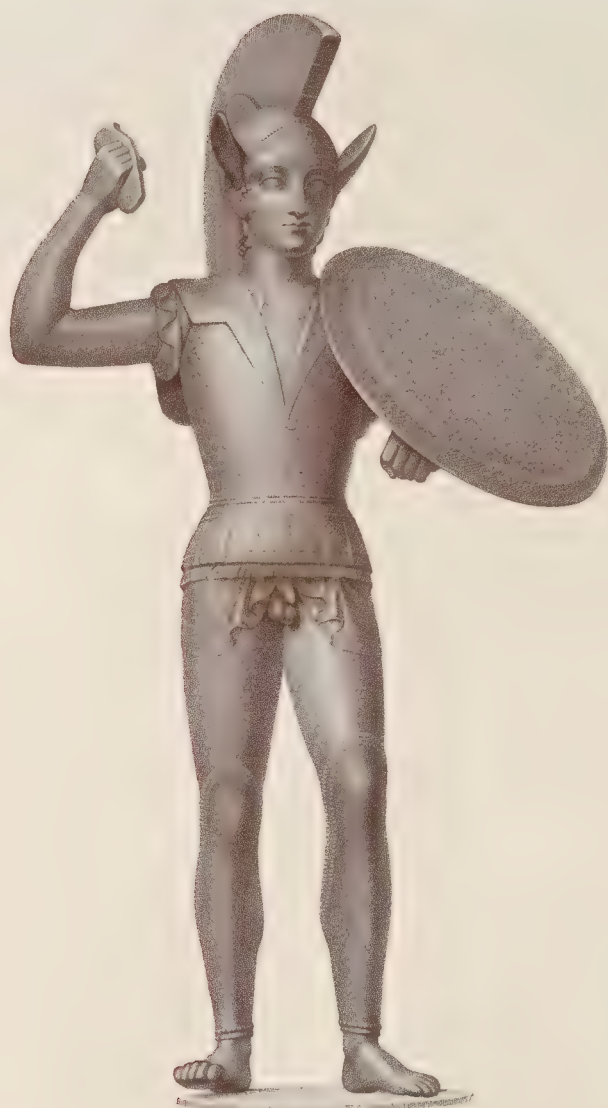


PLATE IV.

THIS very antient figure of Mars in the armour of Homeric times was brought to England in 1813 by Major Blagrove, and purchased by Mr. Knight. It bears a very striking and close resemblance to one found at Todi, antiently Tuder, in Umbria, which is now in the Grand Ducal Gallery at Florence, and is represented in Plate XXI. of *Italia davanti i Romani*, and Hope's *Costumes of the Antients*, pl. 34. We have, however, minutely examined the figure, of which we now give the engraving, without being able to detect any indication, either in the style or the manner of the work, or, in what it would be still more difficult to fabricate, the slight effects of time appearing on the surface of the metal, which would justify us in rejecting it as spurious. We consider it as a duplicate, and, if the other engravings are correct, a little varied from the Florence Mars, but with apparent claims to equal antiquity. The following description and explanation of the figure and armour were prepared by Mr. Knight.

“ A Mars of very antient and highly wrought sculpture in Homeric armour, quite complete and entire, one foot high to the top of the crest, and the surface perfectly preserved, with the broad shield on the left arm, and the remains of the sword elevated in the right hand. The helmet is of the most antient form, leaving the face bare, with only a bar extending half way down the nose. Over the ears are two *παλαί*, and on the top of the head on each side of the crest are

also two, placed as Damm has described them in the Homeric helmet. The crest of horse-hair rises an inch and a half above the casque, nods over the forehead, and hangs down the back quite to the loins. The helmet is ornamented as upon the most antient coin of Athens; and the cuirass is covered with scales representing probably plates of metal fixed upon leather. On each shoulder is an ornamented plate uniting upon the breast, which seem to be the *θωρηκος γυαλα*; below, girded round the loins, over the cuirass, is the zone of polished metal, with short skirts imitating leather stamped and fringed, from beneath which and the cuirass hangs the fringe of the *μιτρα*; and under all, behind and on each side, are folds of what appears to be a shirt of fine linen embroidered at the edge, and composed of narrow strips sewn together, according to the primitive mode of weaving by hand without a loom. Similar folds hang over the cuirass at the neck, and appear from under it at the shoulders; but the arms, thighs and feet are bare, though the greaves, *κνημιδες*, which cover the fore part of the legs, extend from the ancles considerably above the knees. They are richly ornamented on the edges and on the sides, as is also the shield, which is circular, and about four inches and a half in diameter. The whole figure is solid, and appears not to have been cast in a mould, but to be an *εργον σφυρηλατον*, or hammered work, which was afterwards finished by the tool of the engraver. Upon the left *γυαλον*, or shoulder plate, are remains of silver, apparently part of something which was attached to it, perhaps the *τελαμων* or belt of the shield, which passed round the neck; and at the back of the figure there is a remarkable projection from the top of the cuirass immediately under the nape of the neck, the purpose of which seems

to have been to prevent the belt from slipping up in action, whilst the long and large crest hanging down the back may have contributed to keep it flat upon the shoulders."

The features and expression, or rather the want of expression in the countenance, correspond with the archaic style of the rest of the figure, and have been already adverted to in our dissertations on the early periods of Grecian art.





PLATE V.

THIS fine statue of the primitive athletic Apollo was obtained for the British Museum from the collection which the Comte de Choiseul Gouffier formed during his embassy at Constantinople. It is quite entire, except the hands and lower arms; the head is uninjured, nor even the nose broken, and the polish of the Parian marble is scarcely injured. The veins are strongly marked, which in figures of deities indicates, as we have before had occasion to observe, an early stage of the art; and the muscles of the limbs and body are full and prominent, after the antient manner of representation already noticed in our preliminary discourse; but the proportions are rather suited to the patron of pugilism (Il. *Ψ*. 660.) than to the leader of a celestial orchestra. The right arm might have rested on a quiver, the left seems to have held a bow, which has been in contact with the leg on that side. The head is unusually small, but as the proportion of all the other parts to each other is elegantly just, this was probably an intentional and prescribed peculiarity, the effect of which is increased by the somewhat exaggerated expression of muscular strength and vigour in the rest of the composition. The simple arrangement of the hair and of curls over the forehead corresponds with the squareness and very antient style of the figure. The beauty of the head is considerably advanced beyond that of the goddess and warriors of the

Ægina marbles, or of the Apollo given in Plate XII. of our former volume. In our prefatory remarks we have ascribed this statue to the period of art, when Onatas first gave beauty to the form of the son of Latona in his temple at Pergamus.



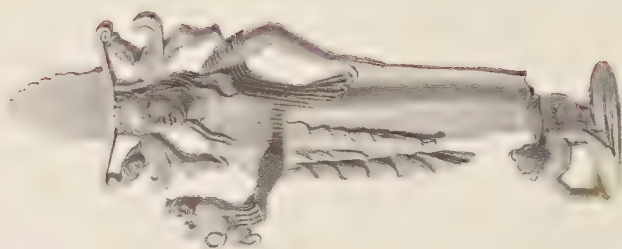
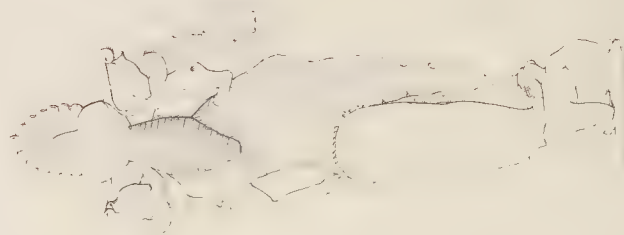


PLATE VI.

THIS very old Etruscan stand of a mirror is, as far as our observation has extended, the only very early specimen of art, not Ægyptian, in which the monkey is introduced as a sacred symbol. It is proved to be Etruscan by the pointed shoes or sandals, and to be of the highest antiquity, not only by the style of the work, but also by the contexture of the garment, composed of narrow strips of cloth sewn together. The introduction at so early a period of animals not indigenous, as accessory symbols, is very remarkable, as we can scarcely suppose any commerce to have then existed between Italy and Ægypt, and still less between Italy and India or Tartary; and we know of no other countries in which this animal was deemed sacred or symbolical. The deity represented is probably Juno. For a further explanation of this figure see "Inquiry into Symbolical Language," &c. Sect. 178.









PLATES VII AND VIII.

THIS fine statue, together with another somewhat resembling it, also in the collection of the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth, but of inferior execution, is believed to have been brought to England from the Barberini Palace at Rome. The head, which is not of the same block of marble, is, however, of the same character with the rest of the statue; but the left arm from the elbow and the right foot from under the drapery are modern restorations.

From the style of composition and the excellence of execution, we are induced to assign to it a place amongst the early but finished works of the Grecian school, or at least to consider it as a most successful imitation of the best period of the art.

There is a masculine dignity of representation and expression ennobling the accurate delineation of individual form, and at the same time an unconscious repose in the attitude, finely illustrative of the best principles of antient composition. The advanced age of the original is marked in the flattened muscles of the body and limbs, as well as in the wrinkled brow, without defacing the grandeur of the forms, which had once shewn the grace and vigour of manhood. So few of the antient statues of individuals have come down to us with inscriptions, which are at all to be depended on, that we can seldom hope to ascertain satisfactorily the personages they are meant to represent; neither in this instance can we trace a decided likeness to any

known original. Such statues were publicly erected in honour of distinguished statesmen, poets, orators and philosophers, as well in the temples and prytaneia, as in the stoas and agoras of Grecian cities, and formed the greatest reward of public service or well earned distinction. Greece still abounded in such monuments at the time when Pausanias explored that country. The seated figure here given is probably that of a philosopher or legislator; for the heads of the poets are usually distinguished by the diadema or sacred fillet of Apollo, and orators and warriors are represented as standing, when not grouped with other figures.

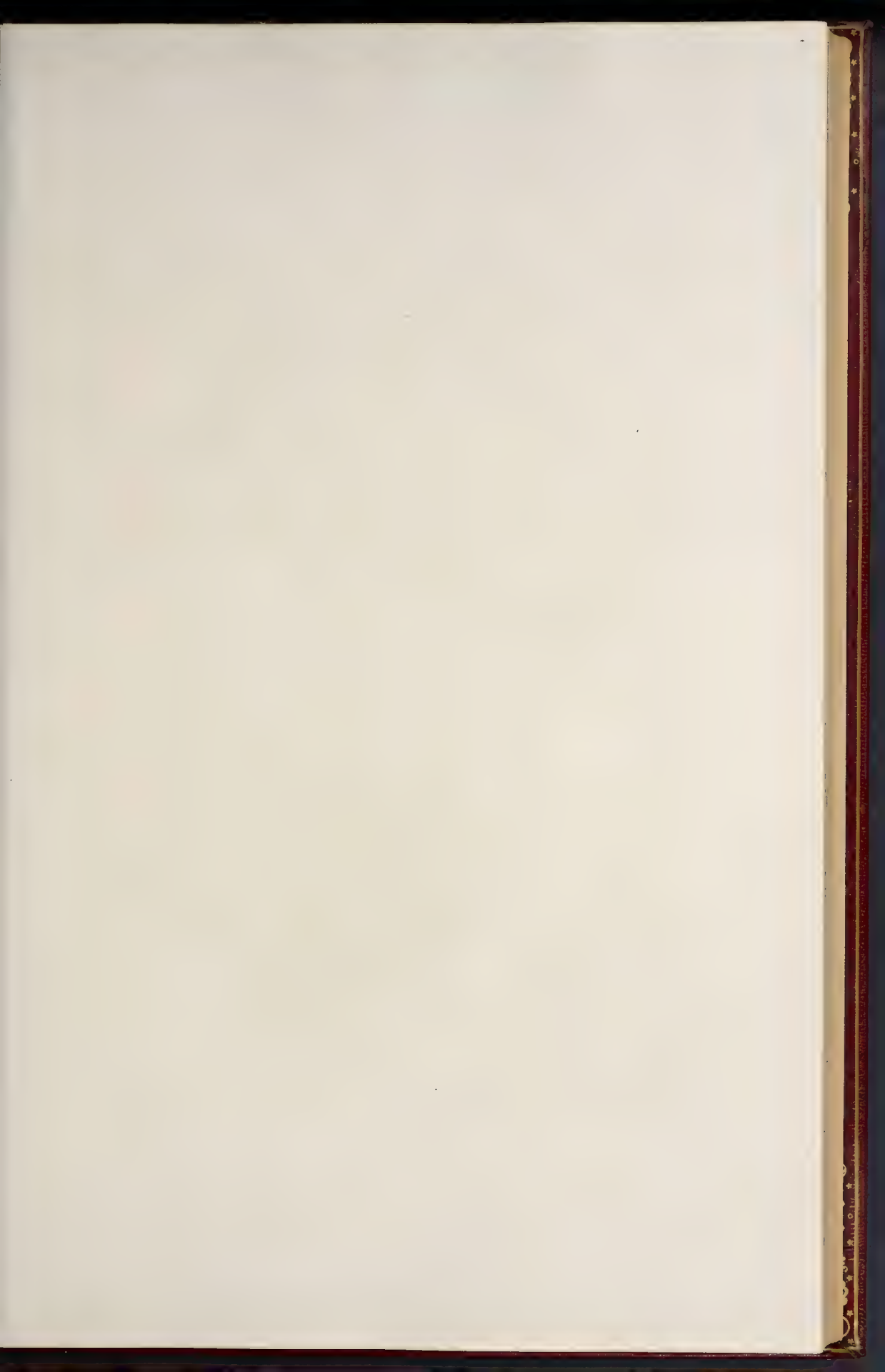




PLATE IX.

THE importance of this beautiful specimen to the illustration of the arts, history and mythology of Athens, designed by her greatest artist at the period of her greatest power and celebrity, induces us to give an additional plate of Mr. Hope's statue already described in our former volume, Plate XXV. The worship and name of Athena were, by the concurrence of antient tradition, imported to the shores of Greece from Sais in Ægypt, by Cecrops the founder of her favourite city. According to Plato she was the goddess Neith, *Nēth*, of the Ægyptians, of which name Athena was possibly only a metonymy; she was there the goddess representing the starry firmament of heaven; and by no very unnatural abstraction the emblem probably of divine wisdom. Various forms of her personification will be found in Mr. Salt's valuable Essay on the Phonetic System of the Hieroglyphics,^a Plate III. p. 64. In every place of her worship, as it emanated from Athens, or was connected with that city, we may trace its foreign and even African origin. Amongst the Pelasgic and Ionian worshippers of Jove she was admitted to a high rank in the synod of Olympus, and was mythologically identified with goddesses of very different attributes, the local deities of the indigenous Grecian tribes, such as the Pallas or the goddess of war at Argos, the Alea of Tegea, and

^a In some of these which are from Philæ, the serpent and disk are on the head of the goddess; but there is little resemblance to the Minerva of Greece.

the Onga of Thebes; as she was afterwards with the Minerva, *Μενεργα* or Monitress, of the Etrurian or Latian religion.^b

In the present composition, which in the dissertation to our former volume, Sect. 74., we have presumed to be one of the numerous copies of the celebrated statue of Phidias, we recognize the well known symbols of the Athenian goddess in the sphinx surmounting the helmet, and in the ægis and Medusa which protect the breast. We need not advert to the Ægyptian origin of the sphinx, interwoven by subsequent Greek authors into the mythology of Bœotia. The andro-sphinxes of Herodotus,^c erected before the temple of Neith at Sais, sufficiently point out the connection with her worship. The meaning of the symbol is still one of the unexplained mysteries of Ægyptian lore.

The origin of the ægis is involved in equal obscurity, but it bears an important part in the Homeric poems. The ruler of the gods, it is said by Agamemnon, *Δ.* 167. will shake his *ερεμνην αιγιδα* in anger at the perjuries of the Trojan race.

Apollo also in the Iliad, *O.* 308., bears the

αιγιδα θουριν,

Δεινην, αμφιδασειαν, αριπρεπέ, ἣν ἀρα χαλκευε

Ἡφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε φορημεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν

with which Jupiter had invested him for the defence of Hector.

The ægis of Minerva, *Σ.* 204. is *θυσσανοεσσα*; in *Φ.* 401. it is also

Σμερδαλεη, ἣν οὐδε Διος δαμνησι κεραυνος.

and in *E.* 738. the goddess throws on her shoulders

^b On a Greek vase lately discovered in Etruria, the name of this goddess is written ENEPEA, and has been interpreted by Mr. Millingen to mean the Despoiler, from *εναρα*, and to be the primitive form of the Latin Minerva.

^c Melpomene, s. 175.

αἰγίδα θυσανοέσσαν,

Δεινὴν, ἣν περὶ μέν παντὶ Φόβος ἐστεφανώτο·

Εν δ' Ἐρις, ἐν δ' Ἀλκή, ἐν δὲ κρυοέσσα Ἰώκη·

Εν δὲ τὲ Γοργεῖ κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πέλωρου,

Δεινὴ τέ, σμερδὴν τέ, Διὸς τερασ ἀγιοχοῖο.

Stephanus derives the name from *Αἰσσω*, “ex eo quod ventorum turbines et procellas efficiat,” (Thes. ad voc. *Αἰγίς*,) and Heyne says, Vol. 4. not. on Il. B. 148. “Scilicet αἰξ, αἰσσεῖν, et αἰγίς, cognata fuere, unde et ipsum nomen *ægidis* quam Jupiter *vibrat*, ductum esse arbitror; quod seniores a caprâ (ἀπο τῆς *Αἰγός*) repetiere.” Eustathius, in his commentary on Il. 4. 170. (ερεμνὴν *Αἰγίδα*) conceives it to have signified a black and stormy cloud, and as such to have been the appropriate armour of the god of thunder and of the goddess of the firmament.

More recent authors, as Heyne observes, ascribe to the ægis a different legend and signification. Deriving the name from *Αἰξ*, a goat, they have engrafted on it many a story of the skin of the goat Amalthæa, the supposed nurse of the Cretan Jupiter, and out of it have framed the *θωρηξ* peculiar to his daughter. In its simplest and earliest form we again trace it, by means of the father of Grecian history, to Africa. He tells us that in Libya, on the banks of the lake Tritonis, Minerva was adored in conjunction with Neptune, who was himself, as the same author informs us, a Libyan deity; and that “The Greeks borrowed from the Libyan women the vestment and ægis of her statues, except that the vestments of these women were of skin, and the fringes which surround their ægis were not serpents but small thongs of leather. In every other respect the form is the same, and the name itself testifies

that this garment came from Libya, for the Libyan women gird round their vestment dressed goat-skins, fringed and dyed red with the *ερευθεδανον*, "a plant classed by Theophrastus, lib. i., among the Acanthi) " and from these goat-skins the Greeks have given it the name of *Ægis*." In a head of Minerva, given in a subsequent part of this volume, Plate XLVII., we find this primitive ægis represented not with serpents, but with a fringe apparently of leather which bears a resemblance to them; and in this humbler form the shaggy edges of Jove's thunder-cloud, the original ægis *αμφιδασεια*, were transferred to the breast-plate of Minerva. The Tritonian goddess appears to be the same divinity as that which the Ægyptians worshipped at Sais under the name of Neith, and which had probably at a still earlier period been transported to Athens, where the legend of her contest and joint partnership with Neptune was commemorated in the Erechtheum and on the pediment of the Parthenon: as one of these deities represented, in the African mythology, the personification of the ocean, and the other that of the firmament, they held in the divine synod of the Greeks, a rank subordinate only to that of the Thunderer himself.

The story of Medusa and her sisters, though unnoticed by Homer, was apparently an Argive legend, connected as it is with Perseus and the family of Acrisius, the early or fabulous founders of the dynasty of Argos; but the scene is also laid in Africa. The name *Μηδουσα*, the queen or ruler, was apparently an epithet of Minerva, or of the Pallas of Argos. The Gorgon of the Iliad is always an object of the deepest horror. Besides the passages already quoted, the *Γοργω βλοσυρωπιε δεινον δερκομενη* accompanied by flight and terror, is on the shield of Agamemnon, *Α*. 36. Hector has *ομματα Γοργους*, *Θ*. 349.; and in

the *Odyssey*, *A.* 633., Ulysses describes himself as being seized with fear, lest Proserpine should send from Hades *Γοργειην κεφαλην δεινοιο πελωρου*, to punish his intrusion into the precincts of the dead. The sisters, however, of the Argive or African legend were afterwards amalgamated into one; and the head of Medusa, who was unrivalled for the beauty of her hair, and had profaned the temple of Minerva by her commerce with Neptune, became invested with the snaky horrors and petrifying powers of the Gorgon, and was added as an ornament to the breast-plate of the goddess. The early representation of the exploit of Perseus on the temple at Selinus gives her a hideous and extravagant form: but in an intaglio belonging to Mr. Knight, and mentioned by him in a note, Sect. 179. of his *Inquiry*, the head of the mild and beautiful Gorgon is seen on the shield of Perseus, while he holds that of the Medusa in his hand. There is, indeed, hardly a form of horror, or of beauty in which the Gorgon Medusa has not been exhibited. See also Plate XLIV. of this volume.

Some have supposed this symbol to be a personification of the moon, accompanied at times with the destroying, and again with the beneficent or productive attributes. That this or similar meanings were affixed to such symbols by later artists and by philosophical expositors of the earlier superstitions, might be conceded, but they are inconsistent with the simpler tales of antiquity. The Gorgon of Homer has no more connection with the moon, than the Medusa and her two sisters in the legend of Perseus. But in the symbol, as well as in the deity we trace the constant progress of polytheism adopting fables from every local source, and compounding fictions out of incompatible elements.





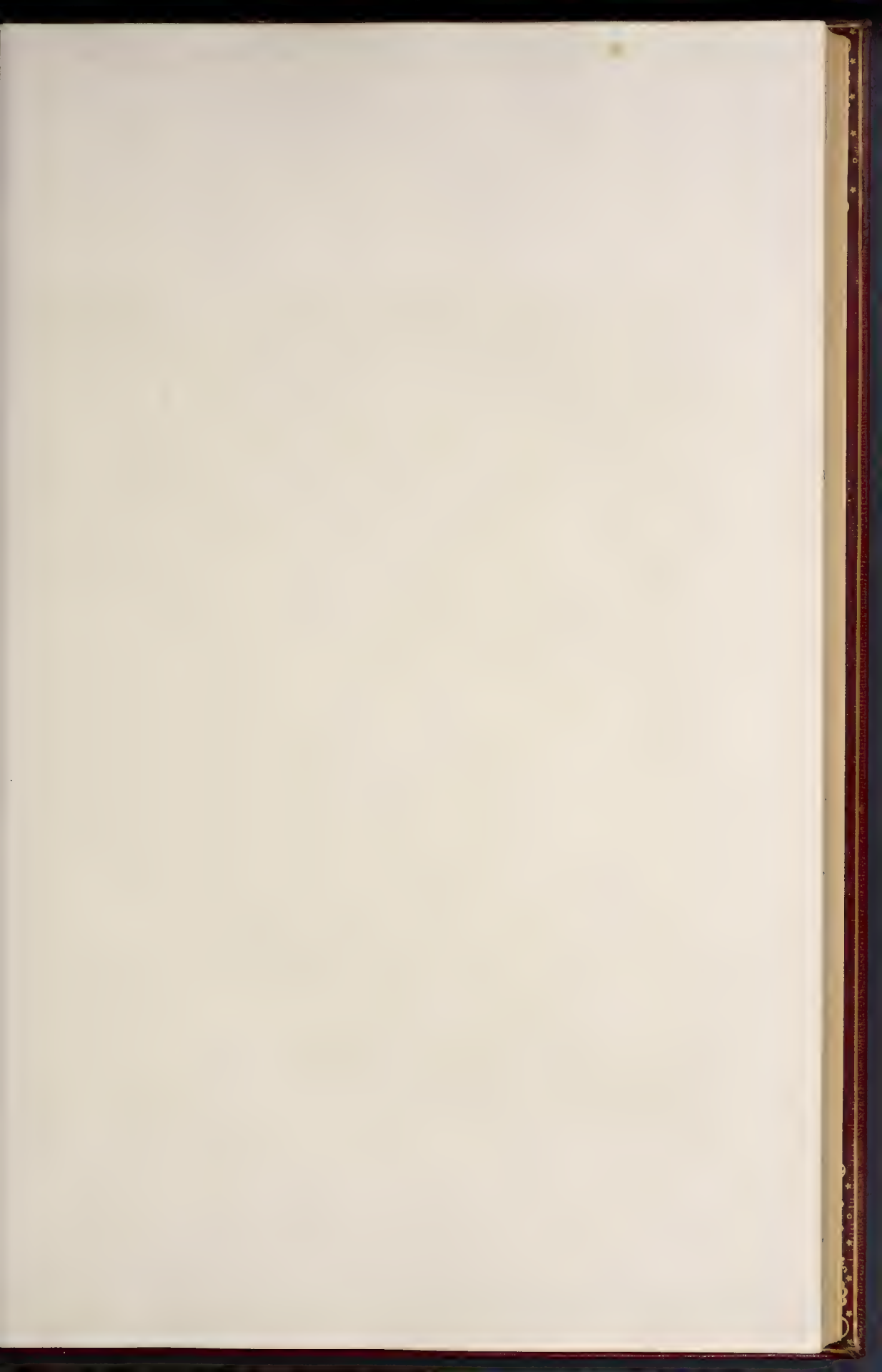
PLATE X.

THE statue of a wounded Amazon here represented, which was found in Rome, is now in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdown. The wound and the drops of blood that issue from it are indicated below the right breast, and the expression of faintness and dejection in the features, which are very beautiful, is perhaps more strongly perceived in the marble than could be represented on the reduced scale of the drawing from which our plate is taken. Both the design and execution are of the highest character, and the finished and graceful drapery is not less perfect than the softness and undulation of the forms which it leaves uncovered.

The combats of the Amazons long continued to be a favourite subject with the sculptors of antiquity, and there are few legends which have furnished them with works more pleasing or better deserving of admiration. Pliny informs us, lib. xxxiv. c. 8. that there were five figures of Amazons in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the rival works of five eminent Grecian sculptors; and Mr. Knight, in his Inquiry, Sect. 50. suggests that the subject of our engraving was probably an antient copy from one of these. It is difficult to trace the origin of this romantic legend. In sculpture at least, the peculiarity, which was ascribed to their figure in the fictions of early writers, and apparently derived from the name *Ἀμαζών*, is never exhibited; and the bosom, supposed to be mutilated for the sake of using the bow with more effect,

is represented in the natural form. Probably in the songs of the ruder warriors of the Pelasgic Greeks the same imagination which converted the Thessalian horsemen into Centaurs, had metamorphosed into female warriors some Asiatic tribe, whose loose or flowing dress and lighter missile weapons suggested the fable. They are described by Homer and Herodotus as inhabitants of the inland district of Asia on the banks of the Sangarius. In what manner and at what time their legendary history was blended with that of Theseus and of Troy can no longer be ascertained, but it arose in the earliest dawn of Grecian fable. Whether founded on the real existence of some hostile and warlike tribe in that part of Asia, or on the misinterpretation of mythological figures, the various stories recorded of their appearance might be derived in some measure from that of the costume which prevailed in Asia among the Phrygians and Syrians; and the effeminate votaries of the Great Goddess, the *Idæi Dactyli* and the priests of *Cybele*, might suggest the idea of women whose breasts had been deprived of their natural form. From such accidental sources and obscure legends romance takes its rise, and becomes afterwards embodied into history; in Greece, it furnished the poet and the sculptor with these beautiful ideal figures of female heroines so universally and deservedly popular as to be found on many of the finest monuments of antiquity, and to have suggested the subject of competition to her most eminent artists.

This statue has suffered apparently from fire, and both the legs and parts of the arms have been restored.









PLATES XI AND XII.

THE beautiful but mutilated statue represented in these plates, and those which are given in the three which follow them, will be at once recognized as copies, with more or less variations, of the celebrated statue of Praxiteles at Cnidos. Of this work, so often repeated by the ancients, no repetition perhaps has been found in such perfect preservation as the Venus dei Medici at Florence; though, as we have already suggested in the Prefatory Essay, the attitude and action of the goddess were misconceived by Bernini, when he attempted to restore them: and from his example other restorers have adopted a similar error. (See Plates XIII. XIV. and XV.) The vase, and the vestment or drapery which lies over it in the fragment here produced from the Duke of Bedford's gallery at Woburn, ought of themselves to have been sufficient to suggest the composition of the original; but we also find it indicated, however imperfectly, on a medallion of Caracalla, in the royal collection of medals in Paris: an engraving of which may be seen in Haym's *Tesoro Britannico*, and in the first volume of Visconti's *Museo Pio Clementino*. On the obverse of the medallion are the heads of Caracalla and Plautilla with the legend *M. AYP. ANTONINOZ*, and *ΦΟΥΑΒ. ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΑΑ*. On the reverse is the figure of Venus with the legend *ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ*. The slight variations in the shape and decoration of the vase, and the introduction of other accessory differences, leave the design of the original attitude much the same, and confirm us in our

conjecture that in the restoration of the arms and hands the composition has suffered from the ignorance of modern restorers. We may, therefore, safely conclude that we have in the specimens before us very close imitations at least, of the most celebrated work of Praxiteles, and their beautiful execution would lead us to believe that they were produced at the same early period; for few statues remain to us of a higher and more perfect style of sculpture, or more characteristic of the peculiar excellences of his school.



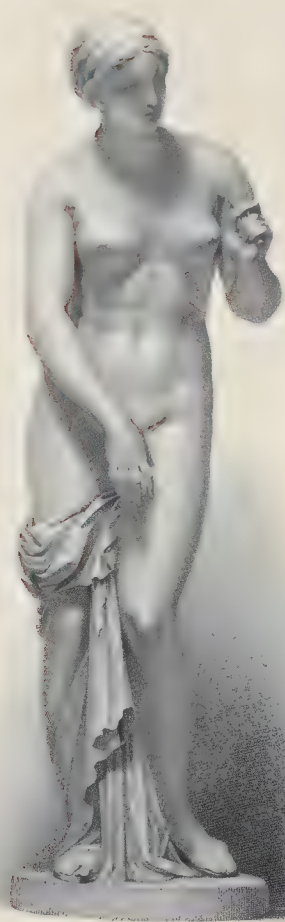


PLATE XIII.

THIS statue is at Newby Park, in Yorkshire, in the gallery of Lord Grantham. In a recent publication on statuary and sculpture, we are told that both arms and the right leg from the knee are modern; and the head also which had been lost, is replaced by a beautiful head of a Pudicitia of a suitable size; the veiled part having been worked to the resemblance of hair by the sculptor Pacili. This is fully borne out by the appearance of the statue. The right arm, which is restored from above the armlet, is placed too high, for the purpose of concealing the junction, and has a bad effect in the compression and diminution of the shoulder. The left arm is restored from the elbow, and the arrangement of the two arms is evidently copied from Bernini's restoration of the Medicean statue. In both these statues it is probable that the hands held the garment designed by Praxiteles, and in this, as in the last specimen, the pedestal by the side of the goddess appears originally to have been a long slender vase, though richly ornamented with a scroll work of leaves and flowers. These appear on the back of the pedestal, where it is undoubtedly antique, but all that is so, terminates in a line with the toes of the left foot. A part of the back has also been restored; but with the exceptions we have noticed, the statue is genuine, and in the highest state of preservation. The marble is of a beautiful yellow tone without spot or blemish, retaining its original surface, and finished in a style of singular

excellence. According to Mr. Dallaway this fine fragment had remained for a long time in the vaults of the Barberini Palace at Rome, from whence it was purchased by Mr. G. Hamilton about the year 1765, who exchanged it with Pacili. Mr. Jenkins soon after gave Pacili one thousand Roman scudi for it, and sold it to the late Mr. Weddell.









PLATES XIV AND XV.

THIS beautiful little statue of Venus in Parian marble was discovered by Mr. Gavin Hamilton in an antient bath at Ostia in the year 1775. It was restored, as Mr. Knight was informed, by Nollekens, under the direction of the late Mr. Townley; but in the description of the collection of antient marbles in the British Museum it is said that the arms, the disposition of which is perhaps not correct, were restored at the suggestion of Mr. Gavin Hamilton, who conceived that the left hand originally held a mirror. The head has been broken off and rejoined. Some parts of it, and particularly the face, have been damaged. The nose is modern.

This statue is one of the most exquisite specimens of Grecian art and elegance, which have escaped the ravages of bigotry and barbarism. The surface, wherever it is sufficiently preserved, retains the traces of the chisel employed with such taste and skill, as to express the appearance of living flesh more truly than can be attained by the most laborious polishing, as may be seen in the muscles of the back, hips and loins, which are in the highest preservation. A projection observable on the right of the chin has suggested the probability that in the perfect figure the right hand, or something held in it, perhaps a dove which the goddess was caressing, was in contact with that side of the face. The style of the work, as well as the choice of the subject are of the school of Praxiteles. The successful genius of this

sculptor, as we have elsewhere observed, first unveiled the goddess ; and she never again recovered her drapery till the art lost the power of representing her native charms. They have seldom been so beautifully portrayed as in this little relic of the decoration of a Roman bath ; but the work is Grecian, nor does the conjecture deserve attention, which ascribes to this statue the character of the Roman^d Angerona.

^d Quæ, digito ad os admoto, silentium denuntiat. Macrob. Saturn. lib. iii. cap. ix. The finger here was never on the mouth, and we know nothing of the form of Angerona ; but it is not probable that she would be thus represented, “ nudo et intecto corpore,” like Venus.



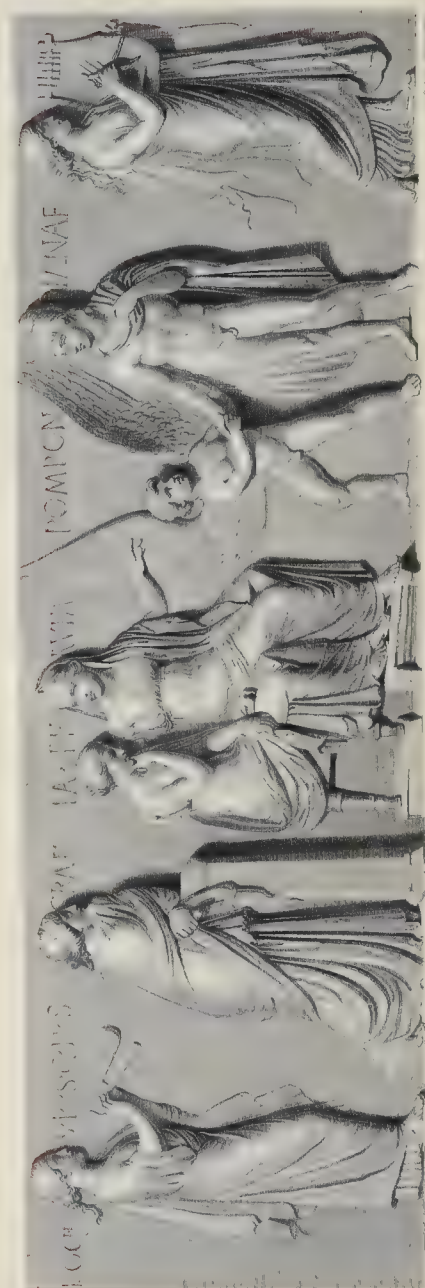
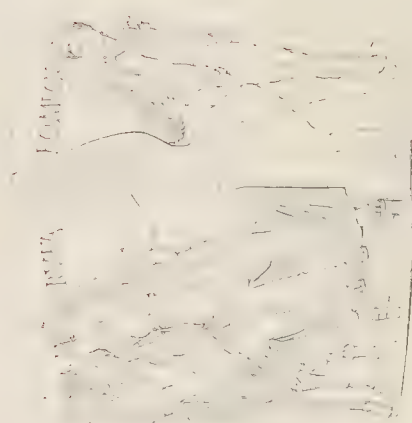


PLATE XVI.

FEW remaining examples of antient art, of the class to which this monument belongs, claim greater attention either for chasteness of composition or beauty of execution. Though now transformed into a vase, according to the taste which prevailed in Rome about the middle of the last century, we may believe it to have been originally a *Περικύρτιον* encircling the mouth of a well. Decorative works of this description were not uncommon amongst the Greeks and Romans; they were placed in the atria of their houses, or in their villas and gardens, and, from the peculiar sanctity in which water, as a primary symbol, was held, they frequently became objects of considerable luxury and expense.

The subject of our marble is well known from the publications of Visconti to be the introduction of Paris to Helen by Venus, who is accompanied by the three muses, Polyhymnia, Erato and Euterpe, designated by their usual attributes. The goddess and the Spartan princess are seated on the same throne, and Paris is conducted into their presence by Love. Helen evidently exhibits reluctance to quit her husband and her country, but she is persuaded by the influence of Venus. All authorities agree in the mythos of Venus having accompanied Paris from Phrygia to Sparta, to perform the promise she had made, in order to engage his judgment in her favour; and the conduct of Helen is invariably represented as the effect of an irresistible destiny.

In the *Odyssey* (*Δ.* 261.) she is described as reminding Menelaus, after their return to Sparta, of the divine importunities to which she had yielded.

ατην δε μετεστένον, ἥν Ἀφροδίτη

Δωχ', ὅτε μ' ἤγαγε κείσε φίλης ἀπο πατρίδος αἰῆς,

Παῖδα τ' ἐμην νοσφισσαμένη, θαλαμὸν τε ποσιν τε,

Οὐ τευ δευόμενον, οὐτ' ἀρ' ᾤρενας, οὐτε τι εἶδος.

In a bas-relief published by Winckelman, and described in his *Monumenti Inediti*, p. 127, *Πειθώ* forms part of a group representing the same subject, and serves to illustrate that which is before us. We need not refer to the frequent introduction of the muses, as *γαμηλῖαι*, or the deities who presided over the nuptial contracts, with which the arts and poetry of the Greeks abound. The well known Aldobrandini marriage, and the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, are sufficient for our purpose.

The head of the goddess is covered with a veil, and she is clothed in a long and ample tunic fastened by a zone. On the head of Paris is the Phrygian bonnet, and he is habited simply in the chlamys, which attached by a clasp to the right shoulder falls gracefully behind him.

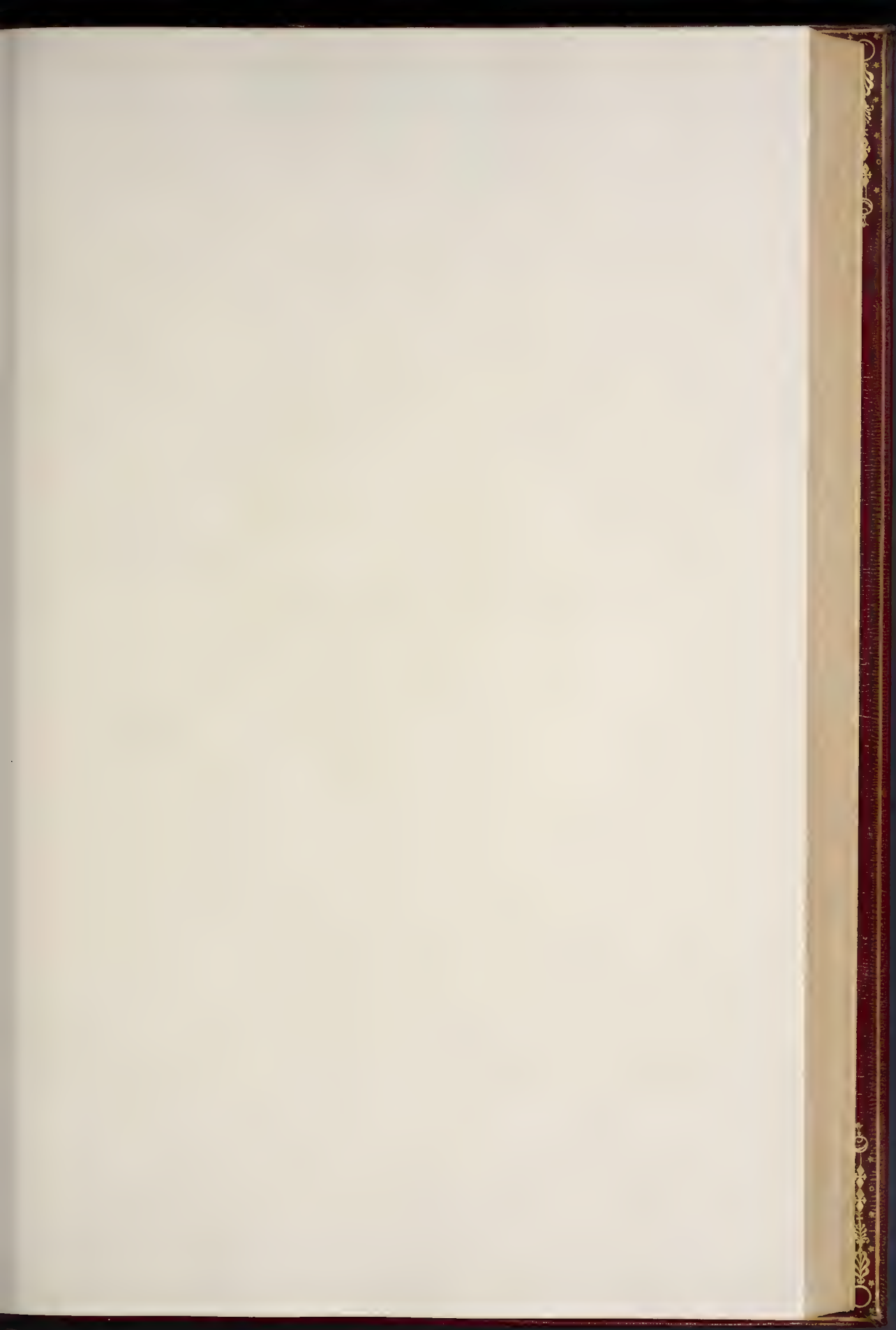




PLATE XVII.

THE distinction of accessory attributes could only authorize us to assign heads of this class either to the Phrygian Atys, Adonis, or Paris, without affording us a more precise criterion by which to discriminate between them; for the effeminate features, and the cap or Phrygian mitra are common to all. It is singular that so many representations of heads with similar characters should be found in modern collections, since statues of none of those mythical personages are noticed by Pausanias as extant in Greece; and Pliny describes one only of Paris by Euphranor, l. xxxiv. 19. 16. in which the Romans thought that they could discover at once the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen, and the slayer of Achilles. We do not, however, in the head before us recognize any of those characteristics. The cast of melancholy in the countenance is more indicative of Atys or Adonis. The mythology of these was entirely oriental, and, as we have noticed, was symbolical of the sun's annual ascension and declension. The same story was told in Ægypt of the death and revival of Osiris. It travelled with the mystic religion into Greece, where in one temple at least the Argive matrons mourned for Adonis as the Syrians for "Thammuz yearly wounded." Atys also had a shrine at Dyme in Achaia, where he was associated with Rhea or Dindymene, and Pausanias, vii. 17. gives the strange fables told of his birth and life in two wild versions, one of which was current in Greece, and the other at Pesinus in Phrygia.

This head, probably part of a statue, was found at Rome, in the Villa Palombara. Its admirable and delicate softness both of design and execution, the purity of the taste, and the finished skill and breadth of the details, would induce us to assign it to the time of Praxiteles, or of the school which he established.



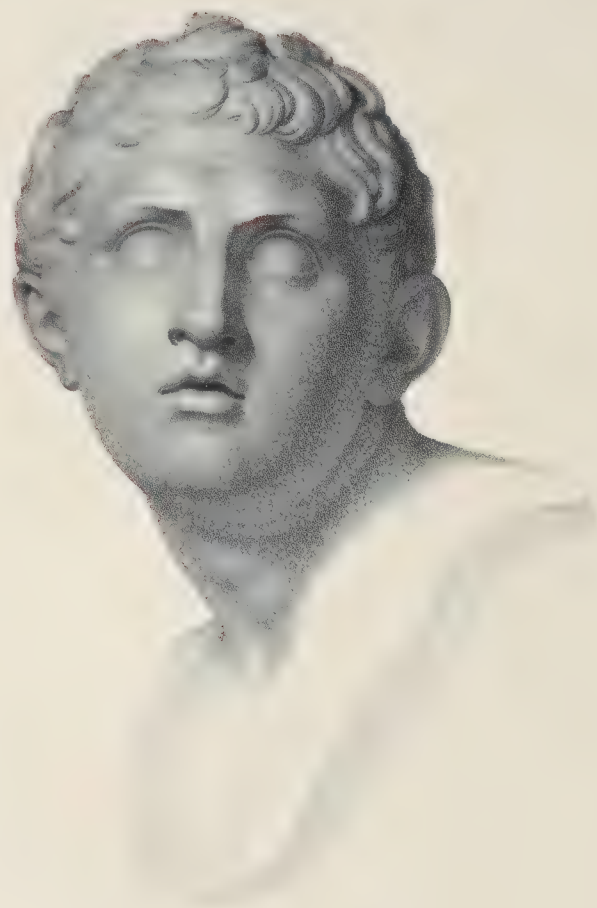


PLATE XVIII.

To this exquisite specimen of Grecian style and beauty, though we have no accessory symbols to guide us, we are inclined to ascribe the character of a youthful athleta or victor at the public games. Such votive figures were common in the temples on the Isthmus, and at Nemea, Delphi and Olympia; and a sort of generic character was formed, of which the recognized examples will, we think, on comparison, give weight to our conjecture. We have alluded to this in our Prefatory Essay, but no where has it been displayed with more admirable beauty than in the marble, now first given to the public. This head, the fragment of some undiscovered statue, was found at Ostia, and is now in the possession of Mr. Rogers, who purchased it in Rome. A small splinter from the tip of the nose and chin has slightly injured it, but the surface of every other part is entire and uncorroded; and, with the breathing mouth and lips, presents an example of the purest and highest style of Grecian workmanship. Without ideal exaltation or heroic character, we have here a personification of youth, vigour and activity, with features of consummate beauty, alike removed from affected refinement and vulgarity. Such were the imaginary forms that animated Grecian sculpture in the brightest era of the art.





PLATE XIX.

THE singular beauty and merit of all that is really antient in this fine statue have induced us to give it a place in our collection, and to assign it to the most flourishing period of Grecian art, notwithstanding the severe mutilation which it has undergone. Of the head, which had been broken off, the crest of the helmet, and the heads of the griffins that surmount it, have been restored, as well as the right brow, the nose, mouth and chin, and the lower part of the neck and throat. We are not, however, on this account inclined to reject it as not belonging to the statue. The right arm from below the shoulder, and the club, as far as the calf of the right leg, against which it rests, are modern; and the front of the thigh and upper part of the right leg with the knee, as well as the left knee, have been inserted by a restorer. The surface of the whole has been much rubbed down, having apparently suffered greatly from corrosion, the marks of which are still visible on the feet. The lower part of the club, which rested against the figure, and appears to have been an original accessory to the composition, has probably determined those who found it, to give it the character of Theseus; and the head, armed with a casque and surmounted with the griffins of Minerva, would, if undoubtedly original, add still greater plausibility to the conjecture. The forms are of the finest kind, and justest proportion, combining strength and activity with considerable grace.

The statue was brought to England from Rome by the late Mr. Blundell.





III

SCULPTURE

PLATE XX.

THIS beautiful specimen of the toreutic art, one of the most perfect, and in some respects the most interesting of the antient bronzes discovered at Paramythia in Epirus, was brought to this country in the year 1798 by Mr. Hawkins.

In the female figure of this exquisite group we can hardly fail to recognize the goddess of Paphos, with her winged attendants Pothos and Himeros. The person intended by the male figure is more uncertain. Of the various opinions which have been entertained on this question we shall notice only two: that which supposes the composition to represent the mystical union of Venus and Adonis, and that which refers it to the meeting of Venus and Anchises in the recesses of Ida. The pointed bonnet, the flowing and highly ornamented drapery, and the anaxyrides, might be equally applied to the royal hunter of Cyprus or to the shepherd prince of Troy; the rocks also which form the scenery would suit either supposition; but the dog is that of a shepherd, and not of the chase.

Though in the classical authors of Greece, prior to the Macedonian conquest, we find no allusion to the united worship of Venus and Adonis, its existence at an early period is proved from Pausanias,^f who makes mention of an *antient* temple sacred to them at Amathus in

^f Εστι δε Αμαθους εν Κυπρω πολις· Αδωνιδος εν αυτη και Αφροδιτης ιερον εστιν αρχαιον. Βαστ. c. 41.

Cyprus. In the fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus,^g the description of Venus and Adonis reposing on two adjoining seats, with the young loves hovering over them, is beautifully applicable to the monument before us: nor are the allusions by Plautus^h and Ovidⁱ to the same subject unworthy of notice.

On the other hand it is proper to consider that Epirus, the country in which this precious relic of Grecian art was found, was supposed to have received a colony from Troy; and that as antient monuments most frequently refer to the mythology peculiarly received in the places which produced them, Anchises was very likely to have been chosen as the hero of an Epirote composition. In proof of the prevalence of Trojan traditions in Epirus, we may remark that there was a town in that province which was supposed to have received its name, Ilium or Troja, from the colony of Helenus:^k that at Actium there was a temple of Venus said to have been founded by Æneas, who received heroic honours in a sanctuary at Ambracia, and that Anchises was reported to have died at an Epirote harbour, which retained his name.^l

^g οἱ δὲ τε κωροὶ ὑπερπωτῶνται Ἐρωτες,
Οἷοι ἀθροινεὺς ἐφεζόμενοι ἐπὶ δένδρων. —
Ἐστρωται κλῖνα τῇ Ἀδονίδι τῇ καλῇ ἀλλὰ
Τὰν μὲν Κυπρίῃς ἔχει, τὰν δ' ὁ ῥόδοπαχὺς Ἀδωνίς.

^h Dic mihi, numqua tu vidisti tabulam pictam in pariete,
Ubi aquila Ganymedem raperet, aut ubi Venus Adoneum. in Menæch. Act 1, Sc. 2.
— celo præfertur Adonis.

Hunc tenet: huic comes est: assuetaque semper in umbrâ
Indulgere sibi, formamque augere colendo. Metam. X. l. 532.

ⁱ Τροία — ἐστὶ καὶ πόλις ἐν Κεατρικῇ τῆς Χαονίας. Stephan. in Τροία. Tab. Peutinger. Segm. V.

^l Dionys. Hal. l. i. c. 50, 51.

The mythos of Venus and Anchises is alluded to in the Theogonia,^m which, although rejected by the Boeotians as a composition of Hesiod,ⁿ was undoubtedly a very antient poem. It forms also the leading incident in the Homeric hymn to Venus, which, of whatever degree of antiquity it may be, was probably founded upon traditions of remote origin. In this poem Venus introduces herself to Anchises as a mortal nymph, the daughter of Otreus. Mr. Millingen, in treating of the monument before us, remarks that it may refer to the very moment when Venus discovers herself to the hero as the goddess of beauty.^o

It formed in all probability part of a highly ornamented votive mirror, destined, perhaps, to be placed in the hand of some statue of Venus.

The plate of metal, which is extremely thin, has been in some places strengthened with tin; and with the exception of a few minute pieces, which having been much damaged were restored with wax by Mr. Flaxman, the work is entire, to the edge of the composition.

^m Αινειαν αρ' ετικτεν ευστεφανος Κυθερεια,
Αγχιση ηρωϊ μινεισ' εραση φιλοσητι,
Ιδης εν κορυφῃσι πολυπτυχου ὀληεσσης. Theogon. v. 1008.

ⁿ Pausan. Boeot. c. 31.

^o Antient Unedited Monuments and Statues, Busts, &c. p. 21.





PLATE XXI.

WE are indebted also to Mr. Hawkins for this figure of Mercury, which was part of the great discovery at Paramythia, and was presented to him at Ioannina. As a work of art, it is, perhaps, equal to any of those which were found on that occasion, as well as one of the most perfect; the figure is entire, but the base or seat, and its accessory emblems were restored by Mr. Flaxman from a composition alluded to by Mr. Knight in his *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language*, &c. Sect. 159.

The treatment of the hair and muscles is sharp and precise, though perhaps somewhat hard; the body is more robust, and larger in proportion to the limbs, than is generally found in the statues of the Cyllenian god; the head is beautifully characterized, and the combined forms of strength and activity denote the indefatigable celerity of the messenger of Jove. Though seated there is no lassitude in the position; and the spirit of the general conception, as well as the skill and truth of representation, combined with the style of execution, would lead us to class it with the works of the school of Myron or Polycleus, the predecessors of Lysippus.





PLATE 1

PLATE XXII.

THE bronze statue represented in this plate was one of those found at Paramythia and acquired by Mr. Knight from Russia. The egg-shaped cap, which has been surmounted by the asterisk, and the locks of Jupiter rising from the forehead, characterize one of the sons of Leda. He appears from the attitude to be holding the bridle of his horse, with perhaps the spear in the other hand; but, as no parallel composition has come to our knowledge with its accompaniments complete, we cannot be certain of the artist's intention. The lower part of the right leg with the foot is wanting, but all the rest is in the most perfect preservation, with its original polish, and in the highest style of Grecian art, though not of the most elaborate finish. The character of the countenance and disposition of the hair, as well as the general attitude and action, are grand, dignified, and graceful, and the veins and muscles are accurately relieved on a soft and fleshy surface; but the whole is more lank and bony, and the extremities are less perfectly detailed than is common in works of a similar degree of merit. The style of execution is that which, from the time of Lysippus, prevailed under the Macedonian kings; and the anomaly in the want of finish and proportion may be perhaps accounted for by supposing that this, like many other bronzes of similar dimensions, was an imitation of a more antient composition.



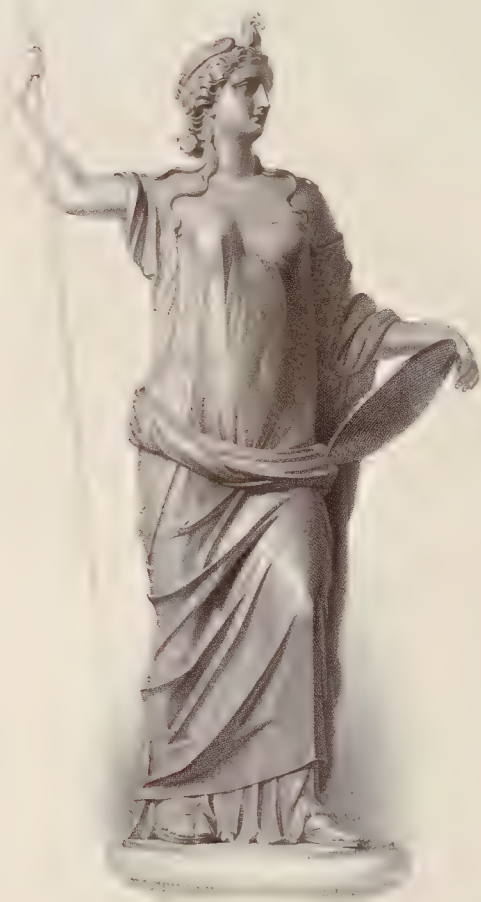


PLATE XXIII.

THE left arm of this figure from the elbow, as well as the piece of drapery attached to it which reaches to the feet, is an antient restoration made in a coarser metal, and by a very inferior artist. The right arm with the sceptre and the golden disk of Jove held in the left hand have been recently restored from a similar composition in relief on a silver fragment of rude workmanship, but undoubted antiquity. Part of the drapery on which the disk rests has been restored in the drawing. All the rest is in perfect preservation and of the finest sculpture. The eyes are of silver, looking upwards with a degree of expression, which it has been impossible to preserve in the engraving; the fleshy surface and transparent drapery are exquisite specimens of skilful execution.

The goddess here represented was probably Dione, the associate^b of Jupiter in the temple of Dodona, the female Dis or Jove, the *Hera* of the mystic grove, whose Latin name of Juno differed only from Dione by a dialectic change. The sceptre and golden disk were also attributes of Ceres and of her prototype Isis, as well as of Dione; and on the head of Isis a bird is sometimes seated, as in this monument, apparently in the act of incubation. The mystic wife of the god of Dodona, in her sovereign character of the queen of heaven, combined the attributes of various divinities. The bird of Dione was generally

^b Συμναος τῷ Διὶ προσπαίδειχθῆ και ἡ Διώνη. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 329. Many of the coins of Epirus bear the heads of these two divinities placed together in profile.

the dove,ⁱ a symbol which seems to have had some connection with the story told by Herodotus of the two black pigeons, who went from Thebes in Ægypt and founded the oracles of Libya and Dodona. Venus, who according to one antient legend, was the daughter of Jupiter and Dione, inherited the doves of her mother, and the title of *Dionæa*.^k But in the present monument the bent beak of the bird, if not occasioned by carelessness or accident, may be that of the Numidian hen or *Meleagris*,^l a bird sacred to several deities.

ⁱ "Ipse *Dionæa* monstravit Apollo columba." Stat. Sylv. III. 5. 80.

"*Dilectas Veneri, notasque ab honore Diones (columbas).*" Sil. Ital. iv. 106.

^k Il. E. 370 et seq.

^l Athenæus, lib. xiv. c. 71, and not. Schweigh.





PLATE XXIV.

IN the memorandum descriptive of this bronze statue, which was deposited with it by Mr. Knight in the British Museum, it is stated to be one of those found at Paramythia in 1792; but in the list of the monuments discovered there, of which we have given a transcript, and in the account of their distribution, drawn up from the original papers of Mr. Knight himself, it is not mentioned. As we know not from whom it was procured by the distinguished owner, we are compelled to leave the circumstance of its discovery in that doubt which such an inconsistency has thrown over it. The eyes are of silver, as well as the buttons that hold the inner robe together upon the arms, and the clasps and buckles of the sandals, which, however, have been picked out for the sake of the metal. The same material has probably been used for the cups or vases held in the hands, and may have occasioned the mutilation of the statue.

Mr. Knight supposed it to represent Ganymede: to us, we confess, it appears to be a personification of less dignity than that which belongs to the cup-bearer of Olympus, and to be the copy of a Greek, or perhaps Etruscan original made at a late period. The hair, drapery and workmanship, though well and skilfully executed, have a character decidedly of the Roman period of art. There is also a defect, more considerable than accident would enable us to account for, in the right shoulder, and in the awkward junction of the right arm to the

body. This is depressed below the corresponding muscles of the left, though the action indicated would require a contrary arrangement.

The representations of Ganymede, as of other deified mortals, are usually naked, and accompanied by the eagle. This statue, with the succinct drapery and uplifted hand, seems rather that of a ministering mortal, bearing, perhaps, an ewer and patera, with perfumes for the baths, or oil for the palæstra. The head, partly from the arrangement of the hair, is too large, but the surface is well preserved, and the lower limbs are of better and more perfect anatomy, than the defects which we have pointed out would have induced us to expect. The drapery is beautifully finished, and affords a good specimen of the style of execution, which characterized the period when mechanical dexterity survived the higher qualifications of the art. The face is not remarkable either for beauty or expression.



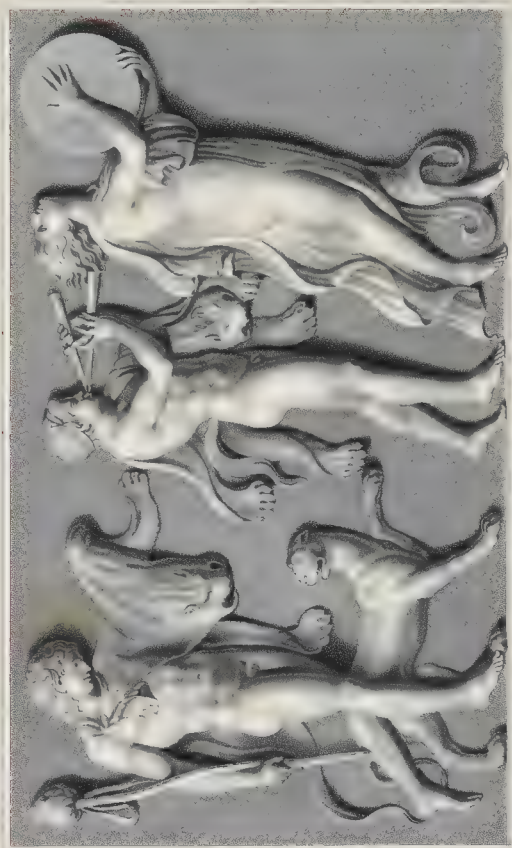


PLATE XXV.

THIS plate was transferred to the society of Dilettanti from a work undertaken, but not persevered in, by a society of Engravers. Although Bacchanalian processions are amongst the most common subjects of antient sculpture, works in relief of such merit and preservation as that which is here represented are very scarce. The figures are about two feet high; the composition seems to be entire, and to have been intended for a tablet.

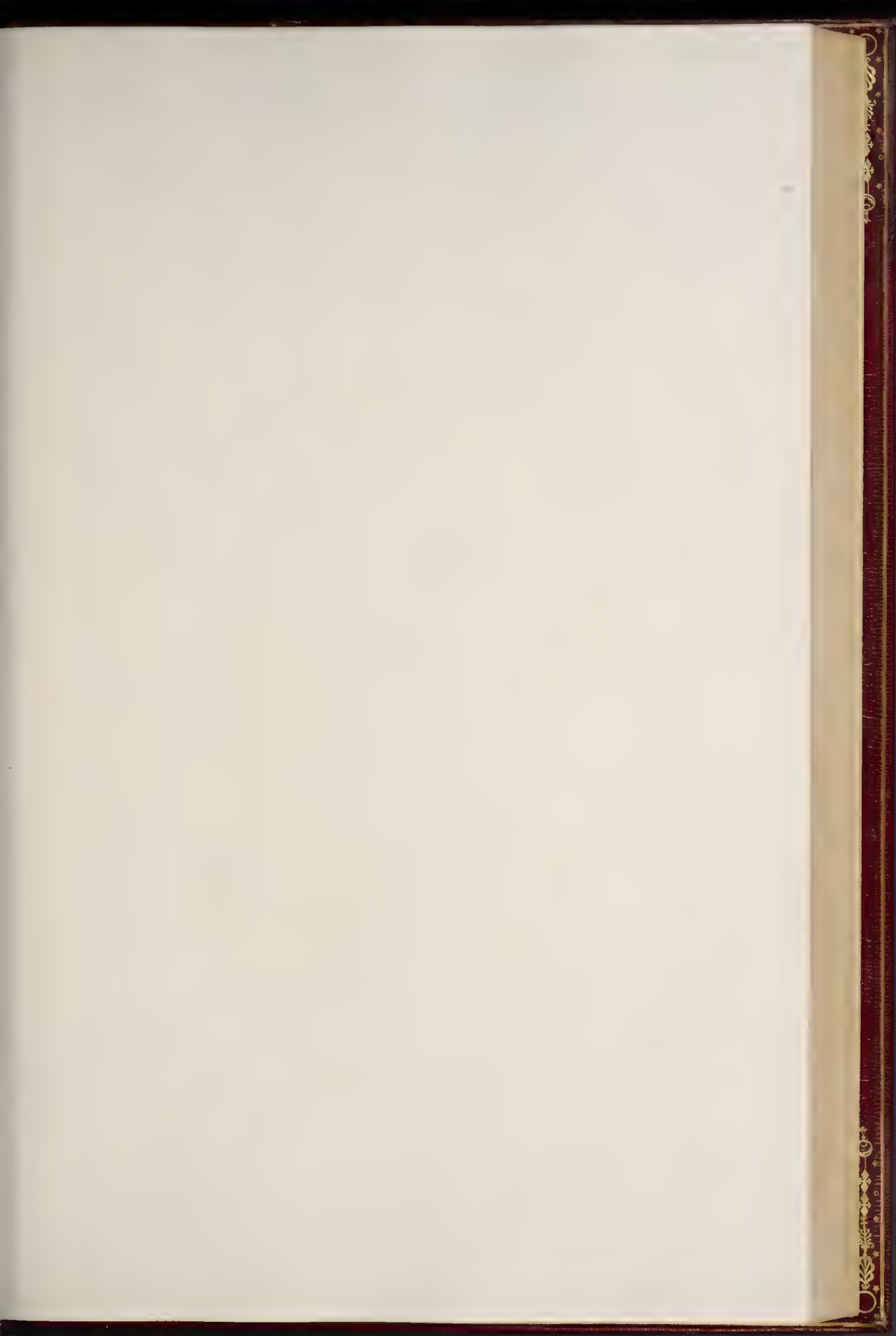




PLATE XXVI.

THIS plate gives us the form of a young Faun in the garment more especially worn by the followers of Bacchus, and appropriate to the character of these semicapri. The nebris, or skin of a young deer,^m is thrown over his shoulder, which was worn, as we learn from Demosthenes, in the mystic rites of Bacchus, and the god himself is described as clad in it,ⁿ νεβριδοπεπλος.

The arms from the elbows, and both the legs from a little below the knees were restored by Algardi, in deference to whose name in art, though little deserved, the late Mr. Townley allowed them to remain, though well aware of the fact that they were inconsistent with the original design of the figure. The left hand appears, indeed, to have held the pedum, or short crook, a fragment of which is still left on the upper and original part of the arm, against which it rests; the right arm with the pipe is purely conjectural, and accords ill with the high mirth and excitation of the laughing features. The strain and tension of all the muscles round the knees prove that the figure was represented on tiptoe, looking eagerly at some agreeable object, which would account for the momentary attitude, and expression given to the countenance. These are conceived with perfect truth,

^m Ἡ δὲ σατυρική εἶσθης, νεβρίς. Jul. Pollux. lib. iv. c. 18, s. 118.

Demosthenes, Περὶ Στεφανου. c. 79. Νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαιρων τοὺς τελομενεύς.

ⁿ Epigram. Græ. T. ii. p. 517.

and executed in a highly finished style, the surface in the unrestored parts being in excellent preservation. The base, and upright stay which supports the statue are, as well as the other parts mentioned, the work of Algardi. The figure was long in the Palazzo Macarani at Rome, and was procured from thence for Mr. Townley.





PLATE XXVII.

THIS statue of Pan in Parian marble is at Holkham, and forms the principal ornament of that gallery, rich as it is in works of the highest merit. It would claim, indeed, a distinguished place in any collection, and even by the side of the Barberini Faun, or the Laocoon. Like these it remains perfect from the chisel of the master, the traces of which are still distinctly exhibited in every part of the well preserved surface. The statue is entire and unbroken, except the hands, which have been restored, improperly, we think, on comparing the engraving of a small antient seal belonging to the late Mrs. Damer, which has here been added to the support of the figure. In this composition of genuine antiquity the character and expression are much more consistent and appropriate. When Mr. Brettingham brought the subject of the present plate from Italy, it had probably been recently discovered, and was consequently little known; for had it acquired the reputation and celebrity due to its merit, no influence could at that time have procured permission for its removal. Placed at present at a distance from London, though in a distinguished collection, it has been too little noticed; for few monuments in Italy itself would afford the artist more valuable instruction.

The association of the goat with the worship of Pan was derived from the Mendesian temples of Ægypt, where the goat itself was worshipped, and where Pan was sometimes represented in the human form

but with goat's legs, not, as Herodotus tells us, because this was believed to be his actual form, but for reasons of a mystic nature, which the historian therefore abstained from divulging.* The Greeks, however, represented Pan with none but the slightest indications of the caprine nature. On the autonomous coins of Arcadia he appears as a young man seated upon a rock, resting one hand on his pedum or crooked staff, and with the syrinx beside him. Several other monuments might be cited, on which Pan has a similar personification, with the same or similar adjuncts. A goat-like countenance, or a budding pair of horns or tail, seem to have been the beginning of that transition into the more complete mixture of the man and goat, by which Pan was sometimes represented in later times. In the present example he is crowned with pine, and a panther's skin is knotted over his breast.

* Herodot. II. 46.





PLATE XXVIII.

THIS beautiful figure is a fine specimen of the art in the best times of Magna Græcia. It was presented by Joachim, King of Naples, in the year 1815, to the Duke of Bedford as the produce of one of the excavations made at Pompeii ; but though now presenting the appearance of a terminal statue, its lower part is evidently a modern addition, and it was probably, when perfect, standing on tip-toe. The head, which had been broken off and replaced, is most exquisitely worked ; the expression of the face, which still preserves the original polish, is highly animated ; the features, and more especially the lips, seem to be actually in motion ; and the tufted goat's-hair appears as if tossed about by the spontaneous action of the head ; the horns, teeth and dewlaps are of silver, as well as the eyes, of which the pupils are excavated, but without the appearance of having been filled up with gems, or other similar materials.





PLATE XXIX.

THIS fine bronze, from the Townley collection, has already been published in Part III. of “the Antient Marbles of the British Museum.” It was found amongst the ruins of an antient temple at Gebail, formerly Byblos, on the coast of Phœnicia.

Hercules is here represented as having obtained the golden fruit of the Hesperides, which he bears in his hand; the guardian serpent or dragon hangs dead on the tree behind him. Few works of art have more grandeur of design, or knowledge of execution, than this small statue. The features of the head differ in some degree from those usually given to the god in Grecian sculpture, but they resemble those seen on some of the coins of Tyre.

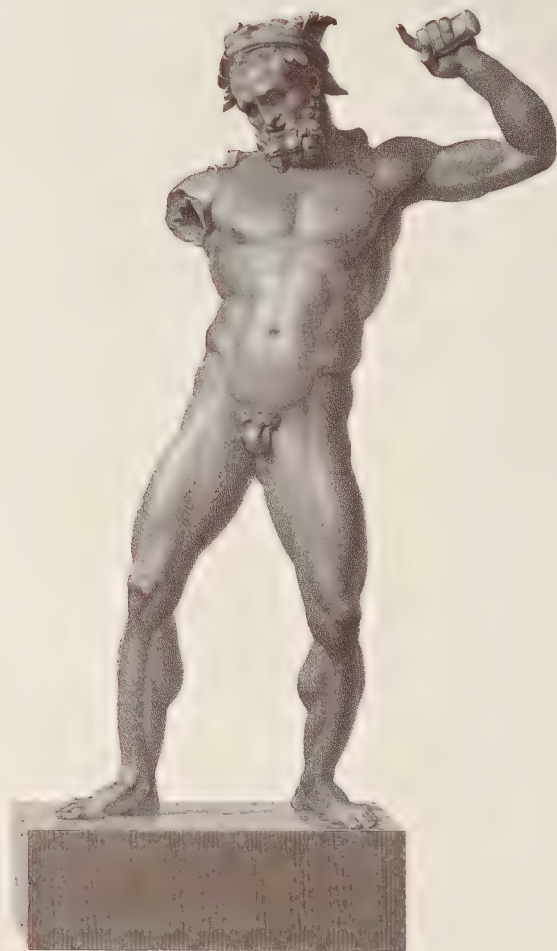




PLATE XXX.

THIS noble head of one of the Homeric heroes has also been published in "the Antient Marbles of the British Museum" since the engraving for this work was completed. It was found by Mr. Gavin Hamilton in the year 1771 among the ruins of Hadrian's villa. The nose, and lobe of the left ear, a small fragment of each lip, and a tuft of hair on the crown of the head, are modern restorations. The fragment probably belonged to a statue which, as the head does not convey the character usually attributed to Ajax, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulysses, or Menelaus, may have been intended perhaps for Diomed. The style of sculpture is excellent; and the free, sketchy, and yet scientific treatment of the hair and beard, induce us to place it amongst the finest monuments of the Macedonian age. The successful manner in which the accessory parts are detached from the features and fleshy surface, and the deficiency of colour supplied by form, deserve the attention of the artist and student.









PLATES XXXI AND XXXII.

THIS small bronze statue of Hercules was procured by our associate, Colonel Leake, at Vrakhóri in Ætolia, whither it had been brought from Vlokhó, a modern village at no great distance, on the site of Thermus, the principal city of the Ætolian league. As the formation of this confederacy was subsequent to the death of Alexander, and its dissolution was effected by the peace made with the Romans, after the surrender of Ambracia to the Consul Fulvius, A. C. 188, our specimen may with probability be assigned to the interval between those two periods; a conjecture with which its style and execution sufficiently correspond. That Ætolia possessed many such works of art is clear from Polybius, who, in relating the capture of Thermus by Philip, son of Demetrius, King of Macedonia, states that the temple of Apollo in that city contained above two thousand statues.

There was no subject more frequently repeated in Greek sculpture, particularly after the time of Alexander, than that of Hercules indulging himself after his labours: nor was there any which seems to have elicited from the invention of artists a greater variety of design. Small statues of bronze are extant, in some of which we find the common representation of Hercules leaning on his club with an expression of fatigue, or standing in a natural attitude, bearing a cup instead of a club or sword, while others exhibit him crowned with the vine-leaf, as in the present instance, and in attitudes indicating various

degrees of the unsteadiness of intoxication. This condition of the demi-god, which artists may have found favourable to an exhibition of their skill in anatomy, and in the play of limbs and muscles, was undoubtedly intended in the small statue under consideration; at the same time that the noble features of the demi-god who had achieved so many great actions may still be distinguished.

Its dimensions are nearly the same as those of the greater part of the bronzes found in the neighbouring province of Epirus; and it has undergone a similar mutilation: the broken arm and hand held probably the lion's skin and bowl, or some such appropriate attribute in silver.

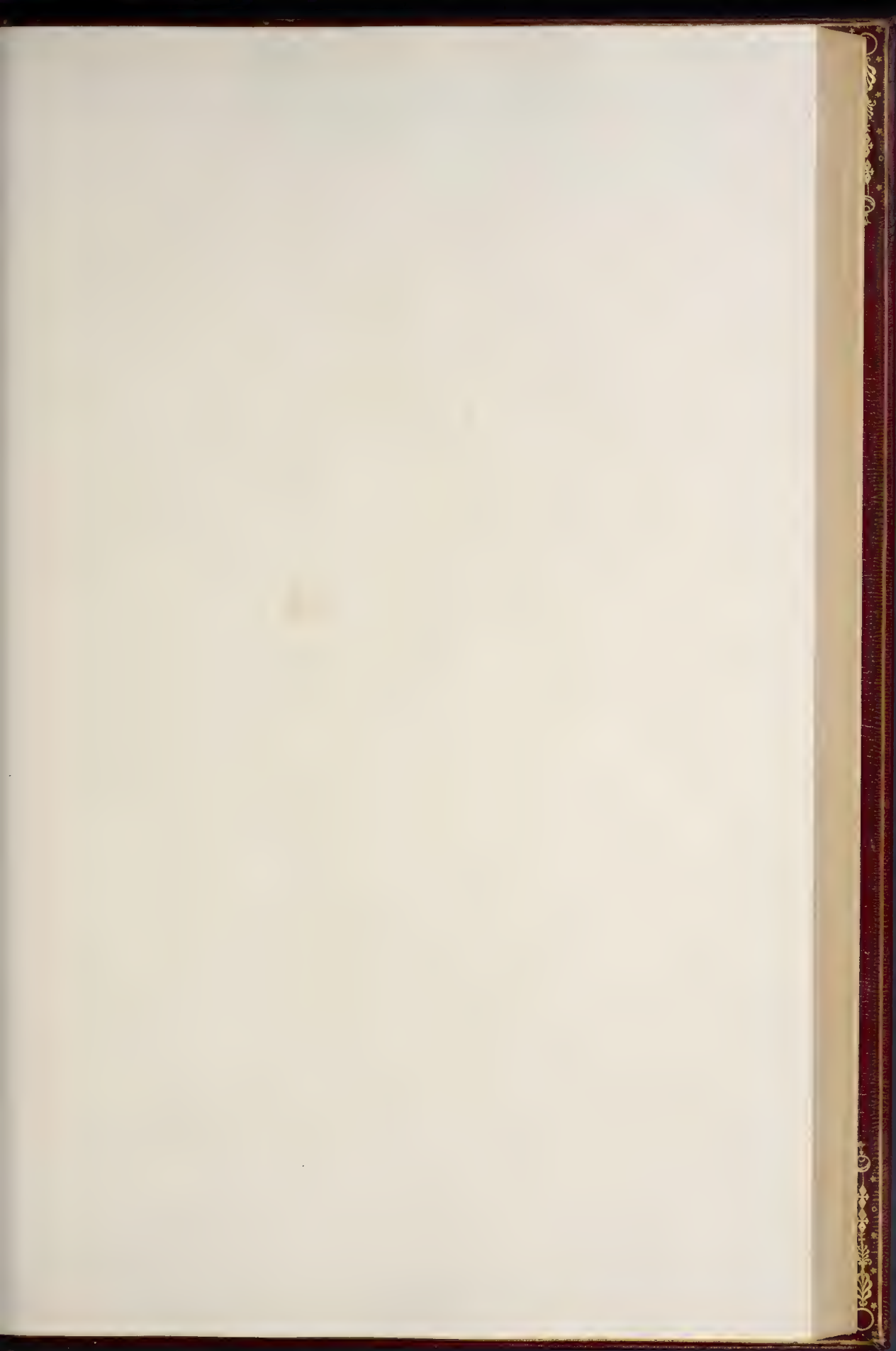




PLATE XXXIII.

THIS figure of Hercules was found in the year 1818 at Bavay, in French Flanders. It soon after came into the possession of Mr. E. Drummond Hay, who has recently presented it to the British Museum. The character of the god is well expressed by the thickness of the neck, and the breadth of the chest; and the details of the body are well developed. But the head is too narrow for the rest of the statue, the thighs are short, and the limbs do not display that prominence of muscle, which is generally perceived in representations of the son of Alcmena, the victor of a thousand monsters. The right hand holds the handle of a club or sword, the former of which was the most usual weapon of the demi-god, though he is represented also with the latter in some antient monuments; Apollodorus describes him as thus armed when advancing in the shades below against the phantom of Medusa. The left arm appears to have been wrenched off, and some minute traces of a silver lion's skin have been observed on the back of the left shoulder. The eyes are of silver. The base is a modern addition.

This statue was highly esteemed by the late Mr. Knight, who selected it for this publication.





PLATE II.

PLATE XXXIV.

THIS head has been supposed by some antiquaries to represent Atys, in consequence of the Phrygian cap which it bears. The breasts of a female are, however, clearly distinguishable; and the short sword below leaves no reason to doubt that the artist intended to exhibit the costume and attitude of an amazon.

The composition and form are agreeable, but the execution is coarse. The eyes, which are of silver, are well preserved. The figure probably served as an ornament to a tripod.



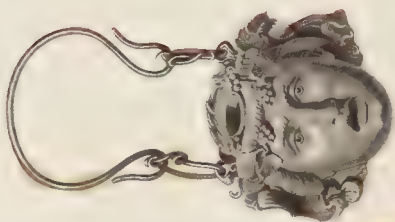
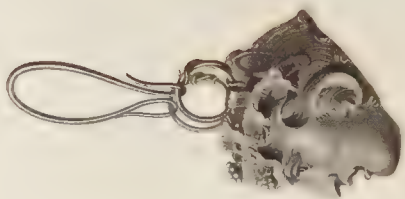


PLATE XXXV.

THIS plate presents to us two views of a Bacchic mask or larva most exquisitely wrought in brass, and perfectly preserved, with its original polish on a surface, which has taken such a deep green tinge, that it almost resembles malachite. It was found in a stone coffin within a tumulus or barrow near Nimeguen, in the year 1674; and a bad print and very inaccurate description were given of it in Cuper's Harporates; he having only seen a drawing of it, after the original had been carried away by the French, then in possession of the city, through whom it passed into the Jesuit's College at Lyons, where the late Mr. Roger Wilbraham obtained it on the dissolution of that society, and afterwards ceded it, with several other precious articles of the same kind, to the late proprietor, Mr. Payne Knight. It is perforated vertically, and appears to have been the nut to the hilt of a sword or dagger, perhaps of some Batavian chief who had served under the Roman emperors, and whose features are probably blended with those of the deity; so aquiline a nose never being given, we believe, to a supernatural or ideal personage, unless taken from individual nature. The character and expression of the countenance are also very unusual, and would have been more suited to a Mars covered with a helmet, than to a Bacchus decked with wreaths, fillets, and garlands of ivy; but these leave no doubt concerning the deity intended by the artist.

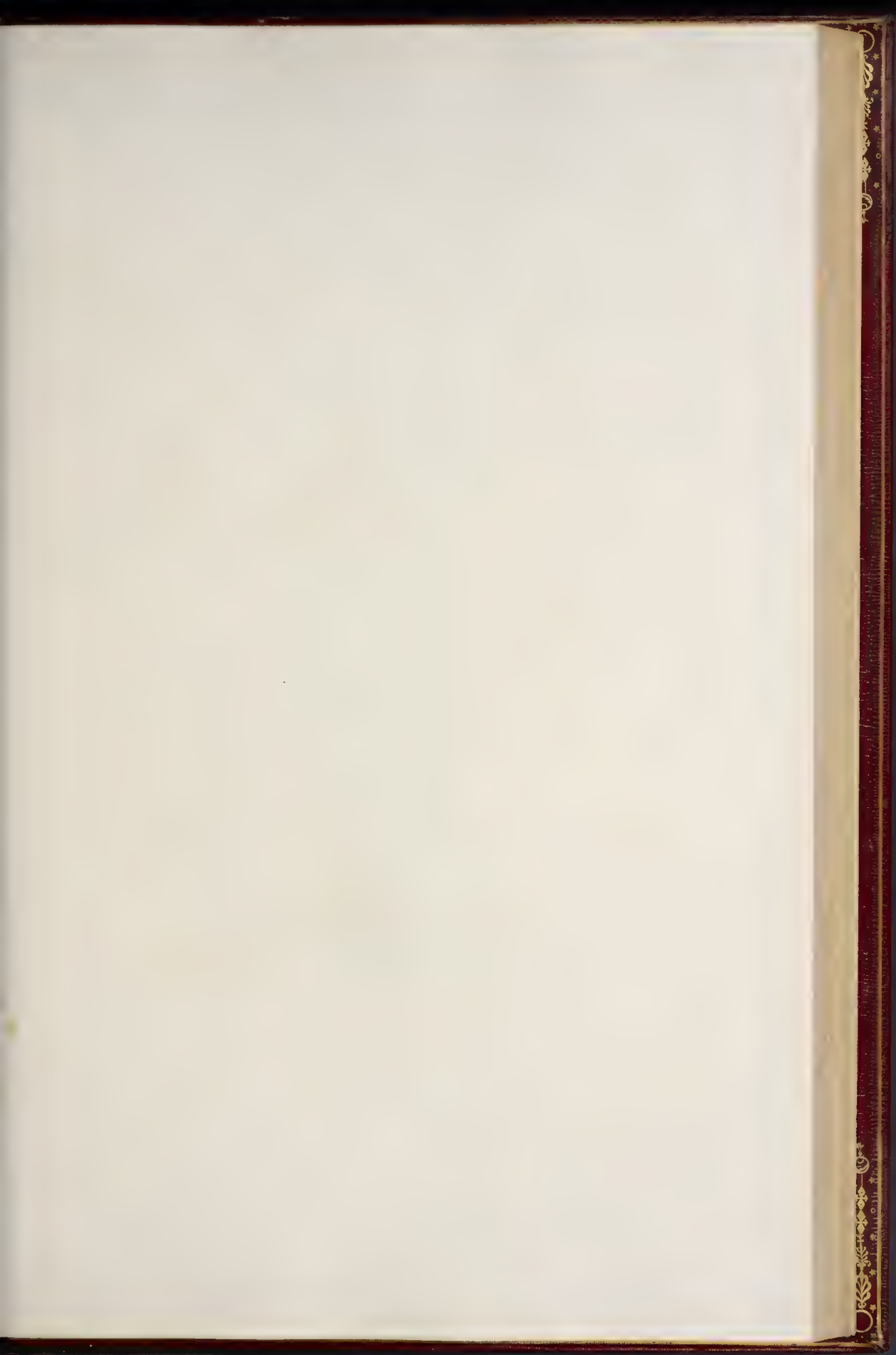




PLATE XXXVI.

THIS statue of Diana is, we presume, a copy of one of the most beautiful works of the school of Lysippus which we possess.

The right arm of the statue has been broken above and below the elbow; the head and both the lower arms are also modern restorations: hence the original action of the figure is doubtful; but as the limbs and easy graceful attitude of the whole do not indicate any violent action, past or intended, we conceive that in the original statue the fore arm was not so much thrown back, but was holding up a torch. We might then perceive in it a copy of the celebrated statue of Diana which the Carthaginians had plundered from Segeste, and which was restored to that city by Publius Scipio Africanus at the close of the second Punic war, when, as Cicero^p tells us, it was replaced in its antient seat, *summâ cum gratulatione civium et lætitiâ*, who, in gratitude to their benefactor, caused to be engraved on the pedestal, P. Africanus Carthagine captâ restituit.

The Diana of Segeste, which was of brass, was of heroic, perhaps colossal, size, and clothed in the stola; but notwithstanding its magnitude the age and appearance were those of a virgin. The quiver was suspended from the shoulder, the left hand held the bow and the right hand a burning torch. The history of that monument subsequent

^p In Verr. lib. iv. 33, 34.

to its being plundered by the sacrilegious hands of Verres is unknown to us.

The trunk of this statue is separated from the lower portion of the figure; the union being concealed under the folds of the peplum. There is great reason to believe that it was originally so executed, the parts being counter-sunk. Instances of statues not colossal being formed of two or more blocks are exceedingly rare; but that of the Townleian Venus in the British Museum, and the Venus of Melos at Paris, present us examples of this mode of execution.





PLATE XXXVII.

THIS statue, of heroic size, is amongst the most important remains of antient sculpture in marble ever brought to England, whether for the excellency of the work, or the integrity of the preservation. The right hand, indeed, with the right leg from above the knee, and the left leg from a little below it, are restorations; and the trunk of the palm tree has been added. The left hand broken off has been re-joined; but all the rest is entire, except a very small portion of the tip of the nose, which has been well restored. The antient polish is entire and unstained; and the tint of the marble is of a beautiful mellow white, verging towards a waxy tone.

In the absence of any accompanying symbols, our late associate, Mr. Knight, has attributed to the figure the character of a Mercury; though the antiquaries of Rome, from the resemblance of the statue to another in the same collection with a boar's head by its side, have assigned it to Meleager.

There is a general air of repose and lassitude in the gesture, with which the gentle inclination of the head, and grave tranquillity of the features correspond, and which is unlike the usual character of the immortal and indefatigable messenger of Jove; nor are the proportions exactly those under which he is commonly personified. Still the elevated and ideal expression of the head seem to denote a hero rather

than a victor at the public games. Dignified repose, after successful exertion, seems to us to be the idea which the artist has here so beautifully embodied.





PLATE XXXVIII.

THE late Mr. Weddell procured this statue of Minerva from Mr. Nollekens. It was brought by that artist from Rome: having suffered in many parts from fractures and corrosion it has been much restored, but we know not whether by Nollekens himself, or by some Roman practitioner. The head, if not antient, is at least well imitated; the nose, and tip of the helmet are slightly damaged; it is also unusually small in proportion to the figure, and having been separated from it, there is at least a doubt if it ever belonged to the original composition. The neck, in more pieces than one, is much worse in execution, and clearly modern, as are also the left arm from the elbow, and the right, which has been broken, from the shoulder. The beautiful figure and drapery have been exquisitely wrought, and entitle it to a place in our selection. The edges of the folds, especially those of the peplum, have been shattered by time or violence, and in trying to work out the splintered parts the restorer has flattened some of them, and given a heaviness to their appearance, which did not belong to the original design.

The ægis on the breast is remarkable, being little more than a broad leathern belt with curling edges or thongs in the form of snakes, and a small head of the placid Medusa in the centre. The marble seems to be Parian, or at least not of Italy, and the style that of the later period of Greece.



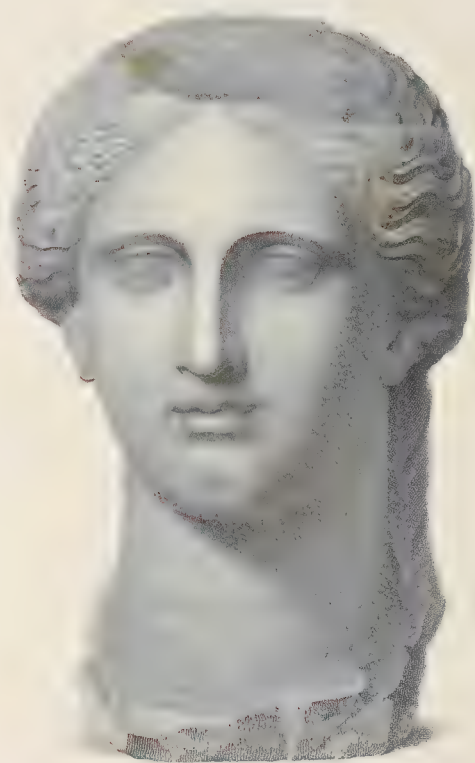


PLATE XXXIX.

THIS beautiful head formed part of the collection of the late Mr. George Baldwin, many years Consul in Ægypt.

It has all the characters of the Ptolemaic school of Greek art, and, except the tip of the nose, is in a perfect state of preservation.

The face is probably an idealized portrait of one of the Ægyptian or Syrian queens; and, from the flattened crown of the head, and the unfinished state of the hair and hinder part of the neck, we are inclined to suppose that it originally bore a veil of thin metal, either gold or gilt bronze, and that the female who is portrayed by it was represented, as is often seen on the medals of the Ptolemaic and Seleucian dynasties, in the character of Juno or Venus.

No marks of corrosion are visible on the surface of the marble.









PLATES XL AND XLI.

THIS fine Greek bust also belonged to the late Mr. Baldwin, and has furnished a print and a description in the lithographic numbers representing his museum; the name of Cleopatra is, however, there given to it erroneously, since a comparison with the medals of the Ptolemaic dynasty will leave no doubt of its being the head of Arsinoë; and we may refer particularly, for establishing this point, to the tail-piece to the present volume from the British Museum, which exhibits a very close resemblance in the dress, as well as in the features: it is to be observed that the whole back part of the head is wanting; yet that the deficiency is evidently not in consequence of any fracture, but was originally supplied by a separate piece fitted on, and closely cemented; a reference to the medal seems at once to explain the object of this contrivance; a veil of the form and proportion there given being precisely calculated to supply what is wanting in the marble, and as there are sockets for the insertion of jewels in the tiara, and for ear-rings in the ears, it is quite in accordance with the same system of decoration, to suppose some more precious or differently coloured substance (as oriental alabaster, or some of the African marbles, or even metal) to have been made use of to represent the veil; such a practice not being repugnant to the taste of the best ages of Grecian art, to which this work unquestionably belongs, and, although found at Alexandria, has no admixture whatever of the Ægyptian

manner : the style of sculpture is broad and grand ; and the execution of the face and throat remarkably fleshy : it is also in good condition, and, like that given in the preceding plate, has no other part restored excepting the tip of the nose.

It was purchased by the present proprietor at Mr. Baldwin's sale in 1828.





PLATE XLII.

THIS colossal head of Hercules, which was presented to the British Museum by the late Sir William Hamilton, has been already published and illustrated in the first part of the description of the collection of antient marbles in that Institution. We have given a plate of it in this work, as it presents one of the best specimens which we possess of the bold and grand character which the antients, in the best time of the art, gave to their ideal Hercules; in whom, more than in any other subject of sculpture, the sublimity of the god was combined with the vigour and endurance of man.





PLATE XLIII.

MONTFAUCON considered this statue to be that of Angerona, the Roman goddess of silence; but the work appears to us to be decidedly Greek, and the head-dress is similar to those found on many Sicilian coins of an early period: the figure is entire, and in perfect preservation. Its attitude and expression induce us to consider it as a representation of Mnemosyne. Pliny mentions a distinguished picture of that goddess by Simonides, a Greek artist; and it appears from a passage in Athenæus, II. 3, that she was commonly worshipped in conjunction with the Muses; but we do not recollect any account of the form or symbols by which her characteristic attributes were expressed. A statue of Mnemosyne is also mentioned by Pausanias, I. 2, together with those of the Pæonian Minerva, Jupiter, the Muses, and Apollo, in a shrine of Bacchus *μελόμενος*, in one of the *στοαὶ* near the Ceramicus, where the Athenians were initiated in the minor mysteries of Ceres and Dionysus.





PLATE XLIV.

It might at first sight appear difficult to decide whether to give to this head the name of Perseus or Minerva. The helmet in the form of a Medusa mask is equally applicable to either; and the features of Perseus have always something in them rather bordering on the feminine form, as those also of the daughter of Jove partake of the masculine. But the light and fluttering hair, and an indication of the petasus on the right side of the head, induce us to regard it as a Perseus; and an unique medal of *Ægæ* in Cilicia, belonging to the collection of Dr. Hunter, and now in the Glasgow Museum, (Nummi vet. 1782 Tab. 3. IX.) presents on the reverse a head with the Medusa mask similarly placed, though with the additional symbol of a bird's head on the top of it, and a harpa at the back. This last symbol is decidedly indicative of the head on the medal being intended for that of Perseus, whilst the obverse of the same coin presents a galeated head of Minerva, with the inscription ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ.

The monument here represented seems to have formed part of an alto-rilievo on a disk of about ten inches in diameter, perhaps the umbo of a votive shield.

It is of very elegant Greek workmanship; and having been found in Rome towards the end of the last century, was for many years in the possession of Canova, who gave it to its present proprietor, in testimony of his regard, and as the best specimen of Greek art which had been found in Rome during his time.

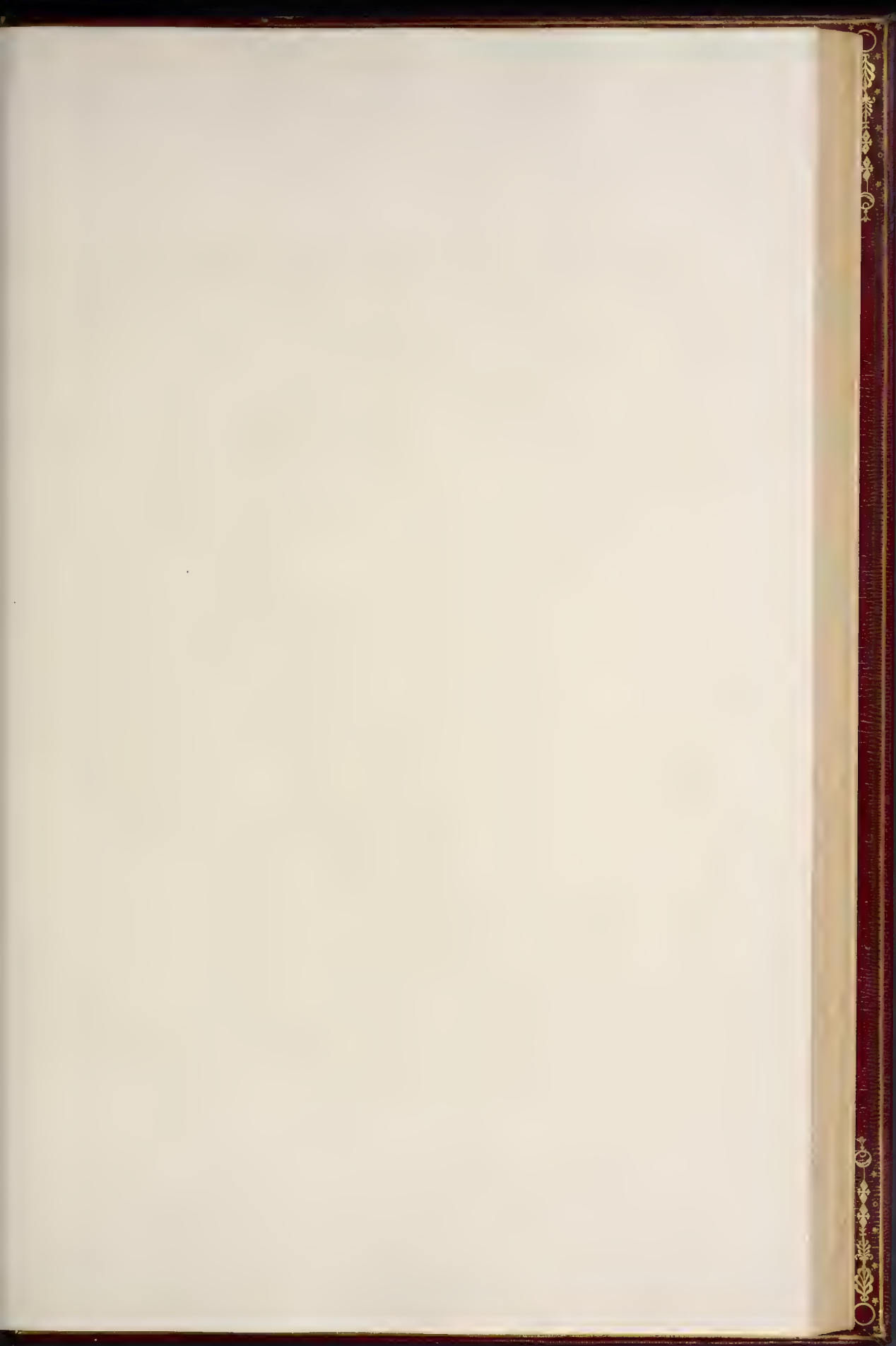




PLATE XLV.

WE have deemed it necessary to give a better and more perfect representation of this fine statue, after the strictures with which we thought it our duty to accompany the plate of the same subject in our former volume. The excellence of the original well entitles it to the most accurate delineation which we have been able to procure; and from the rarity of such compositions we wish to call to it the attention of the public. It represents the Apollo Citharædus, the god of the lyre, and patron of the muses; and in this character especially we find that he was commonly exhibited with long and flowing drapery. Statues of this class were far less numerous than those which represent the same deity as a naked youth, with more or less of the androgynous character of the Didymæan worship. One of the earliest is perhaps that of bronze, which Pliny mentions as the work of Pythagoras of Leontium, who was the successful rival of Myron, and who, according to the historian, first expressed in adequate execution the veins sinews and hair of his figures, which Myron had neglected. This statue, which was erected at Thebes, obtained, as he informs us, for the god the surname of Dicæus, or the just; a fugitive citizen having, during the pillage of that city by Alexander's soldiers, concealed his treasure in the bosom of Apollo's robe, where it was faithfully preserved during the plunder of his neighbours. Pliny, lib. xxxiv. s. 8.

A marble statue in the portico of Octavia at Rome represented the same subject. It was the work of Timarchides, who flourished about the 155th Olympiad.

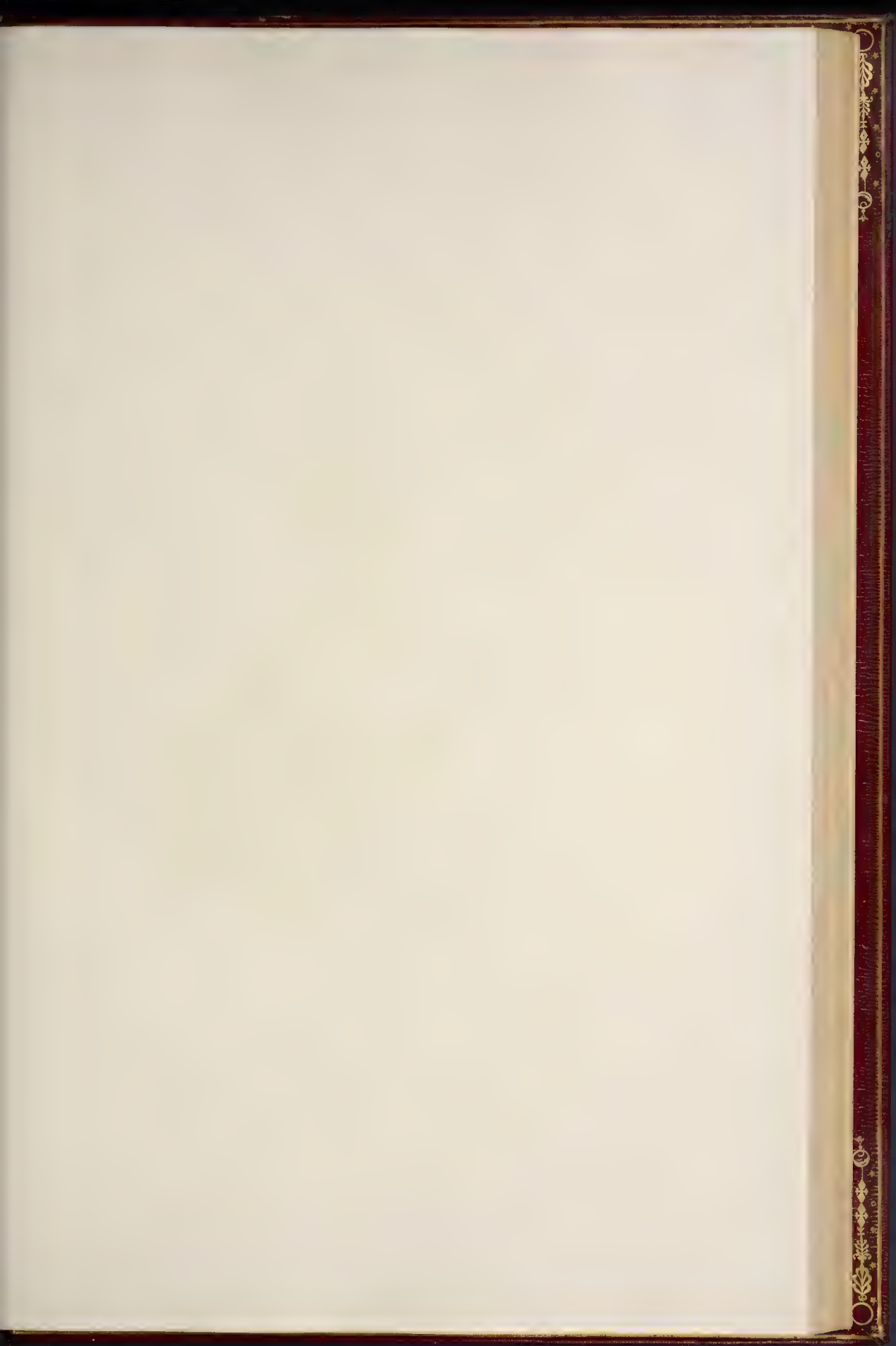
Our statue was brought to England from that city by the late Earl of Egremont.





PLATE XLVI.

THE resemblance of the bust given in this plate to the well known medals of Augustus is so remarkable, that we have had no hesitation in giving to it the same appellation which it has always borne since it was found near Canopus in Ægypt about 1780, when it came into the possession of the late Mr. Baldwin. The form of the head, the growth and disposition of the hair, and the long slender throat, are particularly observable among the peculiarities which authenticate the portrait; as a work of art, it has an appearance of hardness, and almost stiffness of character arising from the exquisite finish bestowed upon it, and from the high polish given to the surface, which no softer substance would have received. It is a hard and compact basalt, of an uniform dark-green colour, rarely employed in Greek or Roman sculpture; and no other specimen we believe of an antique portrait-bust in the same material is now known to exist: it is in a high state of preservation, no portion of the face has been injured or restored, and the only deficiencies throughout are a small fracture upon the top of each ear, and the corners broken away from the chest, where it was brought square to the pedestal or term. These have been made good in plaster.



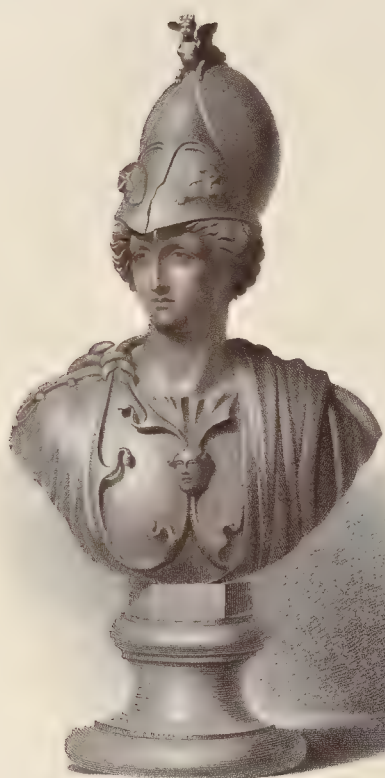


PLATE XLVII.

THIS bust of the placid Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and patroness of science and literature, is of an excellent quality of art, though evidently of the Roman school, under the Cæsars. Without the grandeur of the older Grecian style, it is exquisitely finished; and such is the delicacy of expression in the almost living lips, that no engraver could adequately pourtray it. The eyes are of silver, as is usual in highly wrought works of this size; and the features and surface, which are perfectly preserved, are soft and fleshy, to a degree that is surprizing in such a hard material. It has been the ornament of some sacred table, on which similar small busts of deities were placed, and one of these tables is preserved entire in the British Museum.

The rams's heads on the vizor of the helmet are, we believe, unexampled on any other head of Minerva, and refer probably to some peculiarity in the local worship of the goddess in the place where the bust was dedicated. The laciniaë of the goatskin, the original decoration of the ægis of Minerva, which was afterwards replaced by a fringe of serpents, are here represented: and on the surface of the goatskin, scales or plates of metal are fixed to defend the breast; the head of Medusa unites it on the bosom.

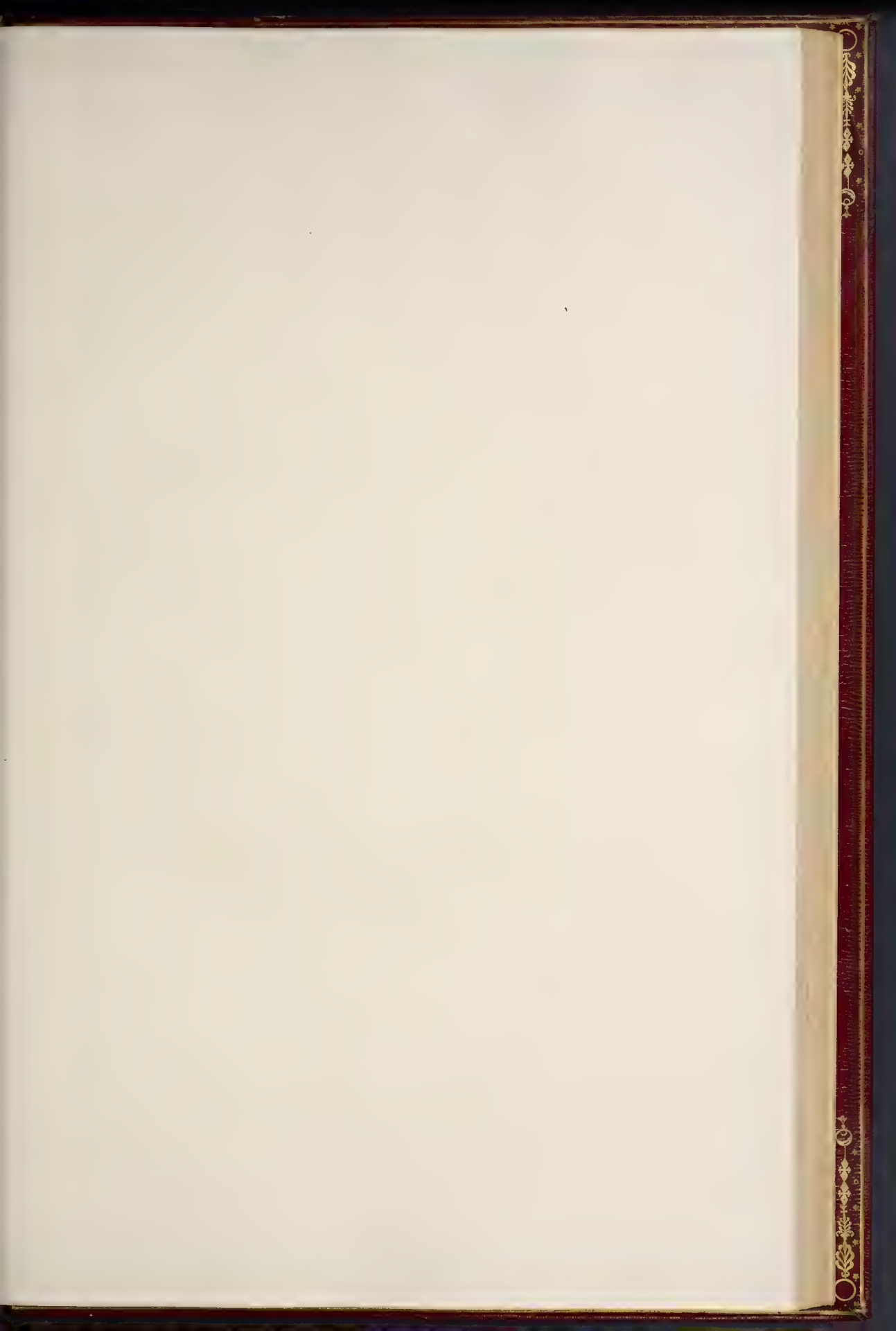




PLATE XLVIII.

THIS elegant little statue of Minerva may be regarded as one of the Lares or household divinities of the Romans. From its graceful composition, the disposition of the drapery, the delicacy of its forms, and its careful execution, it might be ranked with the productions of the school of Lysippus; there are however some peculiarities in the treatment, which indicate a later age, and which induce us to consider it as the work of some Grecian sculptor of the Augustan period.

The eyes, in imitation of the practice of earlier times, were of silver, and some remains of them still exist. The goddess is clothed in a long tunic and pallium, with the ægis over her breast and shoulders; her right arm is extended, and the hand is open, as if holding a patera; but no indications of such an accessory are now perceptible. The left hand evidently supported a spear. The pedestal is antient, and the whole is in good preservation.





PLATE XLIX.

THE loose neglected hair, growing over the forehead, and the ferocious, yet majestic melancholy, expressed in the countenance of this fine portrait, induce us to believe, that it was that of some barbarian Chieftain or King, who was a captive at Rome. We might conjecture it to be Decebalus the Dacian, who graced the triumph of Trajan, or Arminius the German patriot, who defeated Varus, and yielded only to Germanicus; but the monuments of Rome prove that the Dacians wore their beards at full length; and from Tacitus, we learn that it was a religious observance of the young Germans to allow the beard and hair to grow until they had slain an enemy, when their vow being accomplished, the beard was shorn, the hair partly cut off, and the rest tied up in a knot.^a The Gauls wore their hair over the forehead in the manner of this portrait; but the custom of the British, according to Cæsar, was more precisely that which is here indicated, “*Capillo sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasâ, præter caput et labrum superius.*” Possibly therefore we have here a head of Caractacus; for Tacitus has attested the high esteem, in which the character of Caractacus was held by the Romans,^b as well as the triumphal honours which Octavius Scapula received, when the British prince was conducted to Rome.^c

^a Tacit. de Mor. Germ. 31.

^b Ne Romæ quidem ignobile Caractaci nomen erat. Et Cæsar, dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam victo. Tacit. Annal. XII. 36.

^c Neque minus id clarum, quam cum Syphacem P. Scipio, Persen L. Paullus, et si qui alii victos reges populo Romano ostendêre. Tacit. Annal. XII. 38.





PLATE L.

AN account and explanation of this symbolical composition of Bacchus and Ampelus, are given in Sect. 106 of Mr. Knight's Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Antient Art and Mythology which had been prepared as a Preliminary Dissertation to this Volume. It only remains to be observed, that though the head is unquestionably its own, part of the neck, and the right arm have been restored; that the rest, except some of the fingers, is entire and well preserved: and that the style of the sculpture is admirably adapted to the subject; the androgynous character being equally preserved throughout in body limb and feature; the proportions are most elegant; the attitude and gesture, natural, easy, and graceful. The propriety of the restoration of the arm may be a matter of doubt; for we have not seen any similar composition in gem, coin, small brass, or painted vase; the only true sources for the restoration of mutilated marbles.

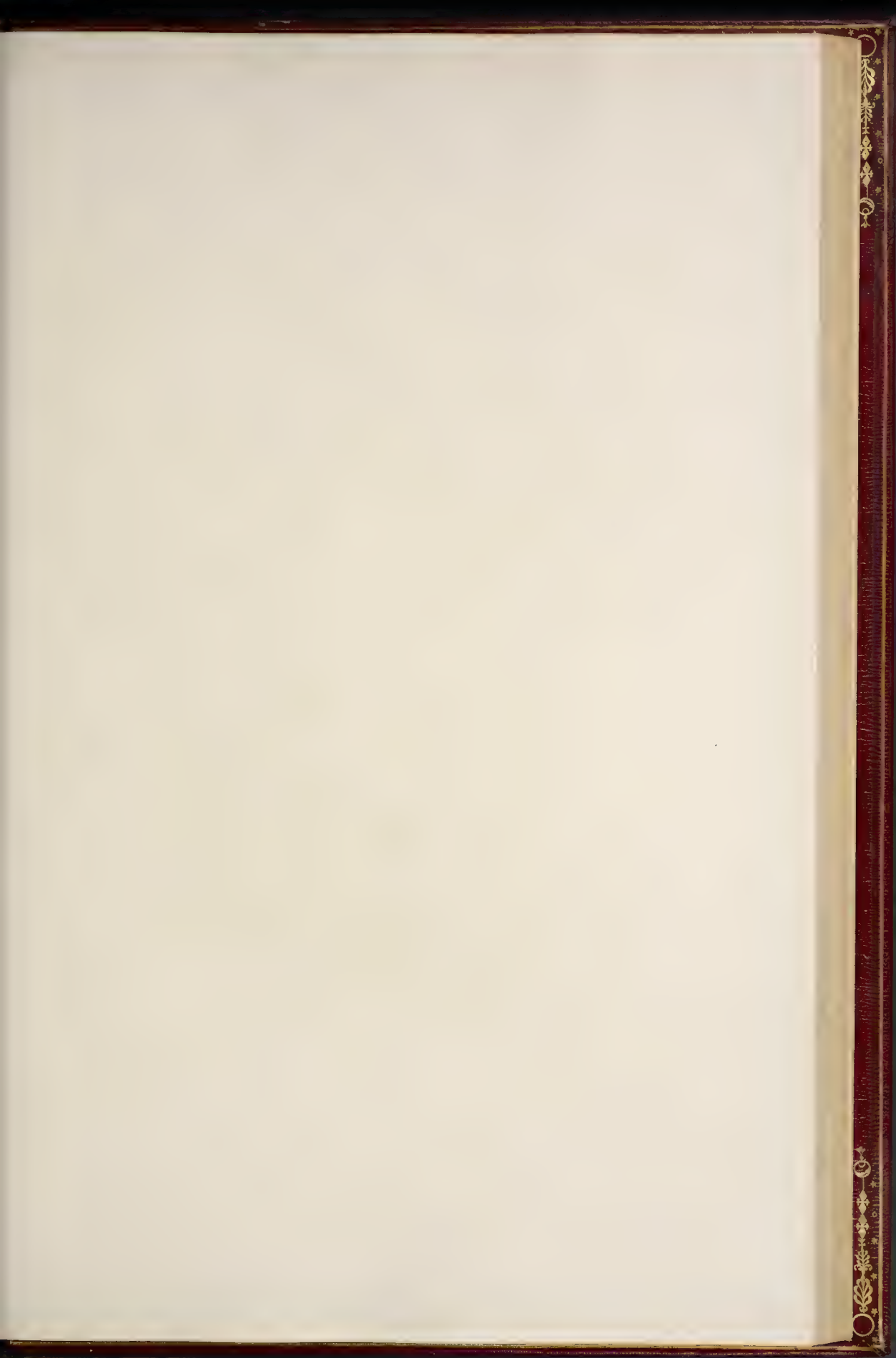
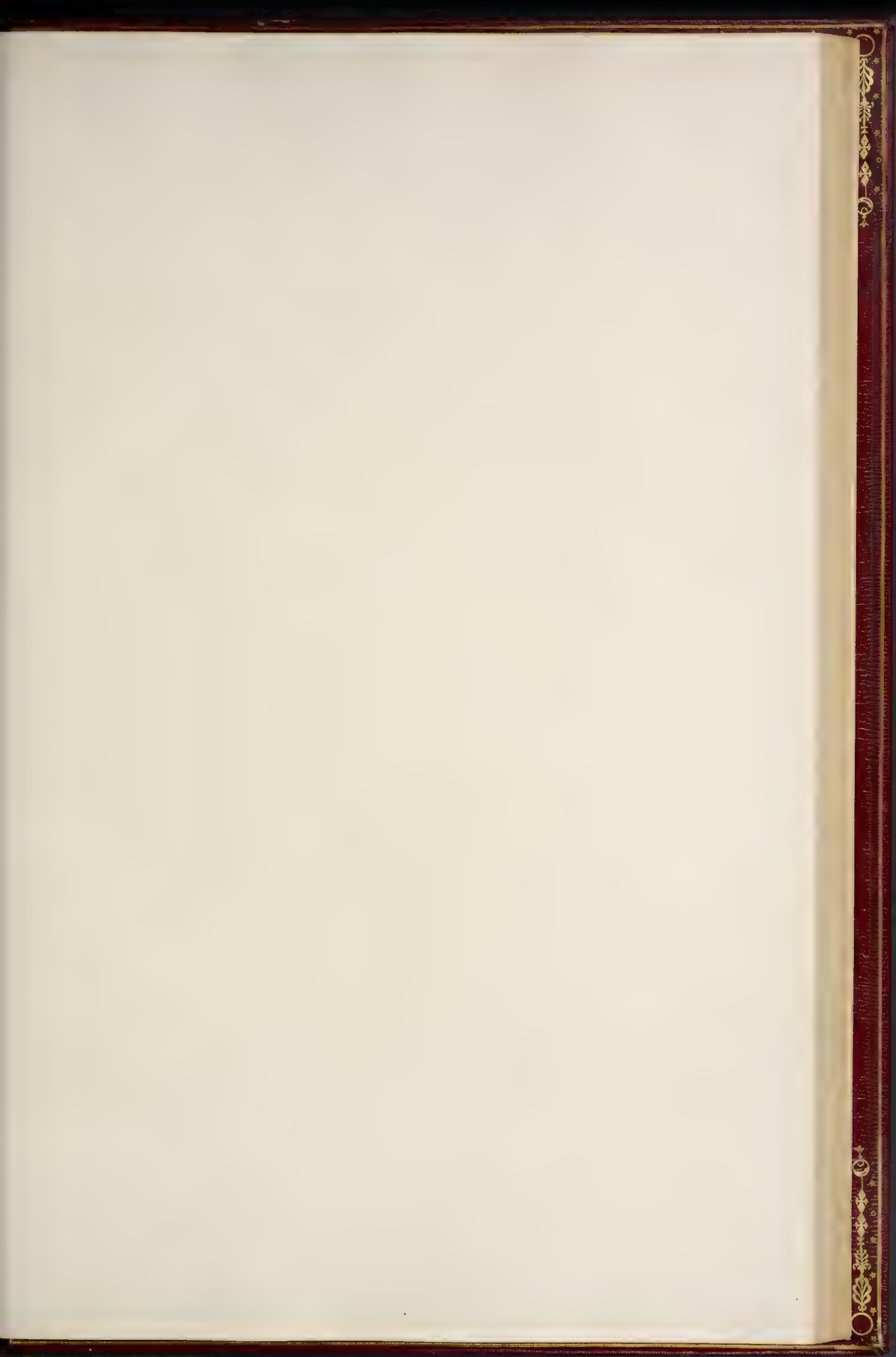




PLATE LI.

THE subject of this fine group of Apollo and Hyacinthus is well known from the story in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. (l. x. 162, &c.) The hand of Hyacinthus holding the quoit, being antient, precludes all doubt concerning it. The arms of the Apollo are restored; the right from the shoulder, and the left from the elbow: a part of the nose also is modern, as well as some connecting pieces, which have been inserted in the left leg, and also in the arms of Hyacinthus; but all the rest is well preserved; the heads have never been broken off; the composition is of heroic size, and of the highest merit: the mixture of ease grace and dignity in the attitude, and of majesty and anxiety for the impending fate of his favourite, in the countenance of Apollo, are exquisitely expressed, and were the perpetual theme of admiration of Canova, while the group remained in Rome.

This monument was found in the excavations made in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, from which circumstance, combined with the peculiarities of the style of sculpture, and the character of the head of the principal statue, which bears more resemblance to the Apollo Belvedere, than to the earlier heads of that deity, represented on the antient coins of Greece, we are inclined to consider it as a work executed for that Imperial patron of the fine arts.



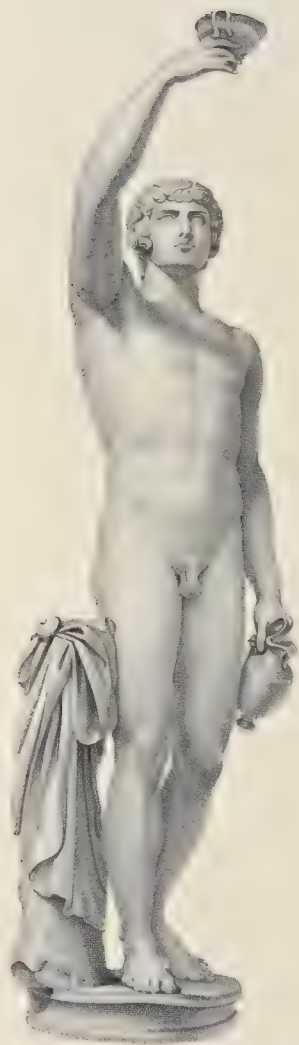


PLATE LII.

WE recognize in the well known features of this beautiful head the portrait often repeated of the celebrated favourite of Hadrian, in whose villa it was found, as well as the group last described. The statues of Antinoüs are valuable, not only for their intrinsic beauty, but because we are certain of the period when they were executed; they thus enable us to ascertain the style which prevailed at the time, and to trace it in other statues, whose age without such information, might seem disputable. However beautiful, it was a borrowed and imitative style, depending more on the softness and flowing smoothness of the detail, than on the spirit of the design, or the characteristic energy of execution. The artists possessed sufficient skill for the occasional and happy imitation of more perfect models; but this was accompanied by a more studied display of technical grace, than was consistent with the unconstrained variety and simplicity of nature. There is, we think, something of affected elegance, and of precise but timid execution, in the works of this period, from which even this successful specimen is not entirely exempt.

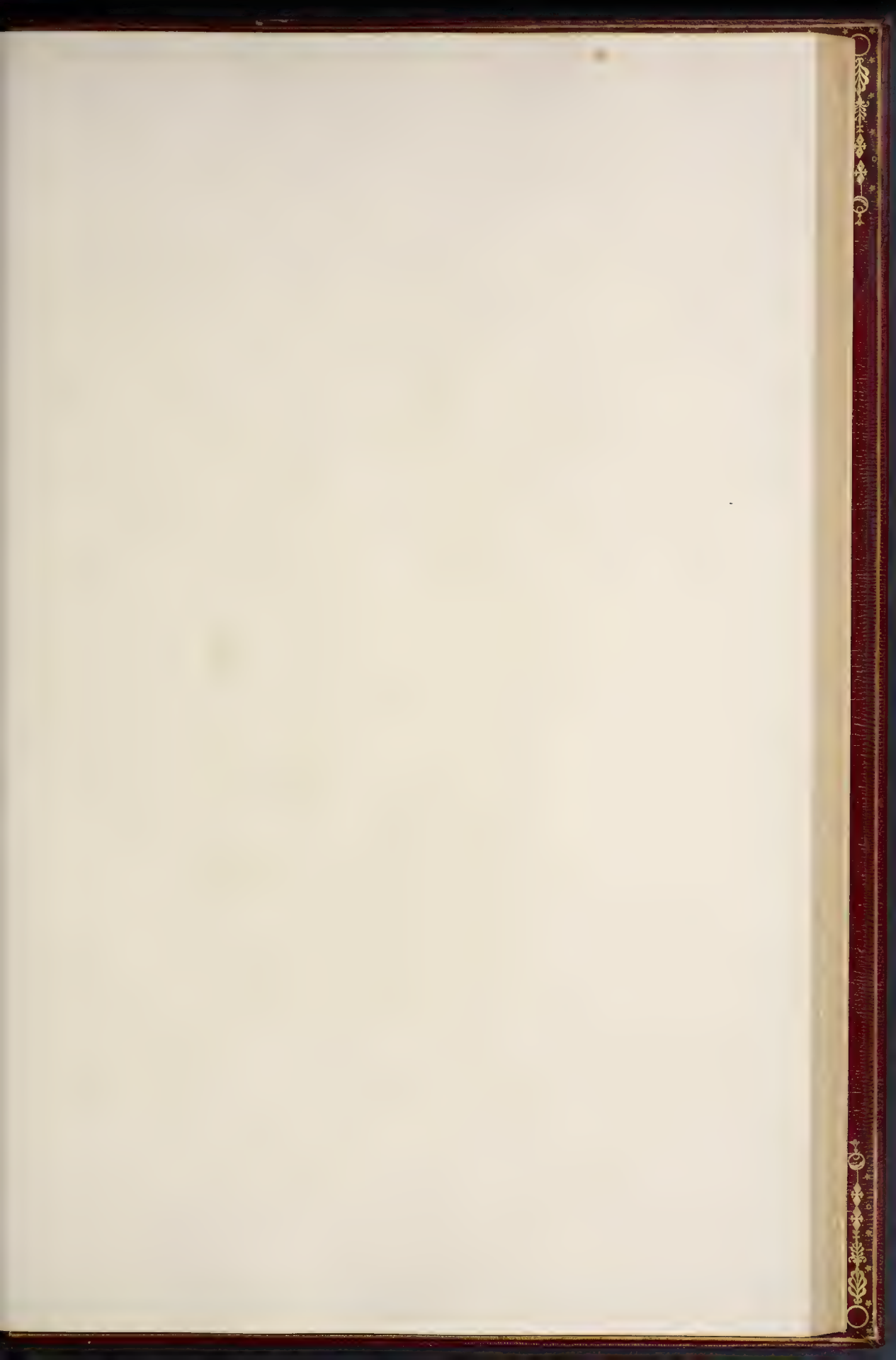




PLATE LIII.

As the lower parts of the arms, with the hands holding the symbols in the male figure, and also the hands of the female, have been restored in this fine group, it is difficult to ascertain precisely the subject, any further than that the male is decidedly Bacchus. The female, on whom his left arm rests, is supposed, by Visconti, on the authority of some Roman medals, to represent Hope: but the composition is in a much earlier style than that of the Bacchus, and seems to have been borrowed from some other statue, anterior to the representation of any such personified abstraction as Hope, whose conjunction with Bacchus, though an allegory prevalent under the Roman Emperors, was little known to the Greeks. We are more disposed therefore to believe, that the supporting figure is from a very antient statue of Ceres, characterized perhaps, by a lotus flower, poppy, or ears of corn in the right hand. The composition and execution of the whole are excellent. We have given a fair and correct representation of the group, with an indication of the modern restorations; and have only to observe that, the two figures being of one piece of marble, there can be no doubt concerning their original union in one composition; that though the head has been broken off, and some fractures in the neck, as well as in the nose and upper lip restored, it is unquestionably genuine, and that till separated by violence, it was of one piece with the rest.





PLATE LIV.

It is uncertain where this statue, which now graces the collection at Holkham, was discovered; but from the similarity of its style and treatment to those of several female statues of the same character, which are undisputed productions of the age of Hadrian, we may without hesitation attribute it to that epoch; it was perhaps one of those numerous works which adorned the villa of that Emperor.

The figure is habited in a loose tunic of fine drapery, which, from its damp appearance, is calculated to display the beautiful forms beneath. The head is of an agreeable character, but without any such distinctive peculiarities as may lead us to consider that it was the sculptor's intention to convey more than the idea of a Nymph, or some personage of that character.

The whole is of excellent workmanship and entire, with the exception of the right hand and the hydria or vase in the left, which were restored by Cavaceppi.





PLATE LV.

THIS figure of a Paniscus, Faun, or Satyr, of the size of small life, is entire, except the ridge of the nose, some connecting pieces in the legs, of no importance, and the right arm with the pedum, which has been restored from a little below the shoulder, in a manner probably very different from the original; as it places in his hand the pedum, which was the staff of Pan himself. The antient surface remains unbroken and unstained, so as to exhibit the sculpture, which is very good, in the state in which it came from the hands of the artist; a rare and inestimable merit: for in a statue, as in a picture, the last touches express the taste and feeling of the master; but when the surface has been corroded, and the polish scoured, all these delicacies of art, which distinguished the original from the copy, are obliterated and lost.





PLATE LVI.

THIS statue representing most probably a Roman Emperor in the habit of Pontifex Maximus, from its style and execution, and from the peculiarities of its costume, may be presumed to belong to the second century of our æra.

The head which is perfect, and has never been separated from the trunk, bears a strong resemblance to the portraits of Marcus Aurelius. The right arm is restored from two inches above the elbow, as is also the left arm from about the same distance below it. The right leg is also restored about two inches below the tunic, the left about four inches from the same.

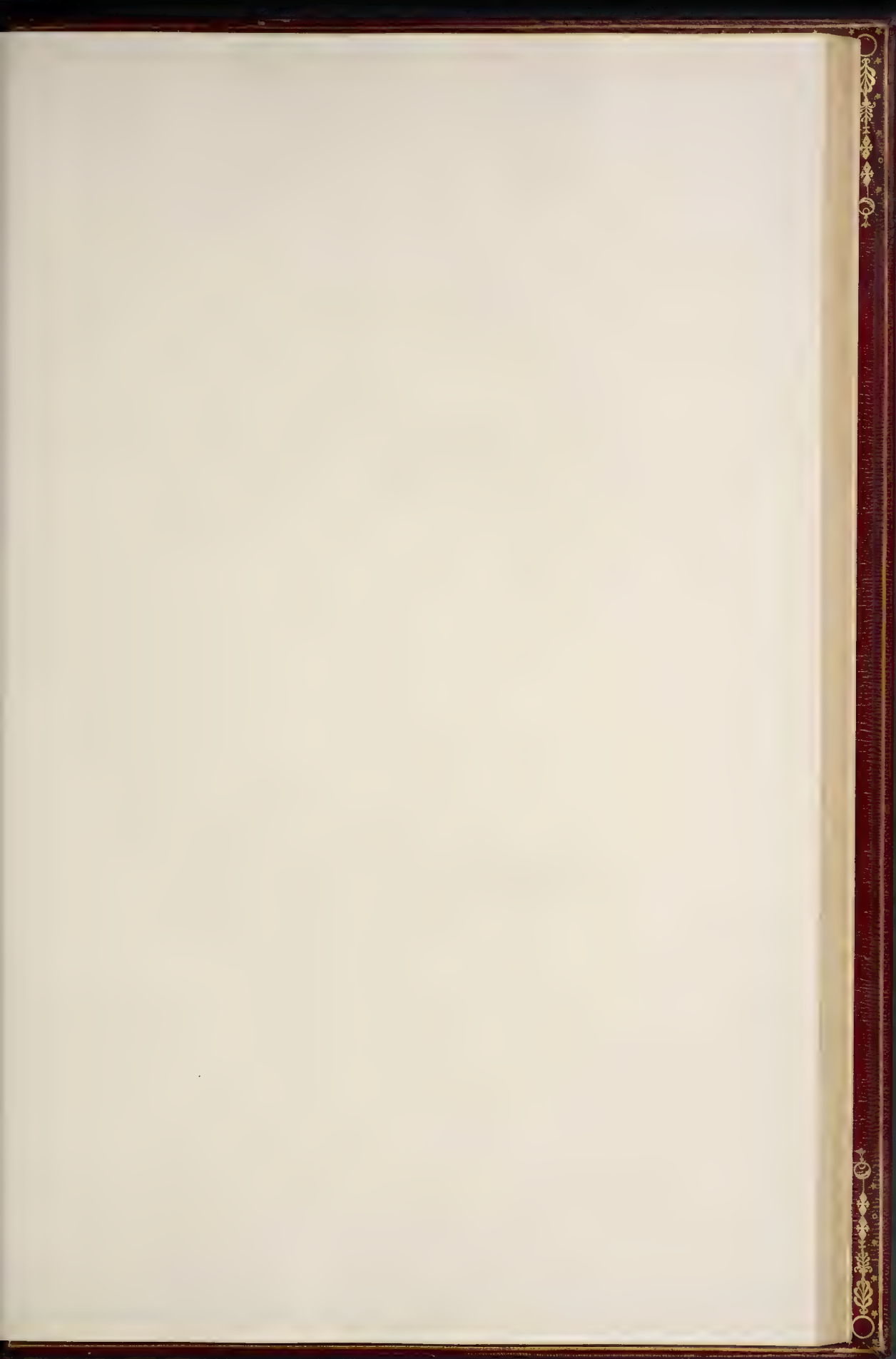




PLATE LVII.

WE do not publish these two busts, one of a female Faun, and the other of Mercury, as exquisite specimens of antient art, but as curious combinations of distinct symbols : that of the Faun being placed in the flower of the lotus, and the head of the Mercury having the mixed character of Bacchus, and the wreath of ivy, in addition to its own winged petasus. Both are of good Roman sculpture. Of the Faun, the eyes, teeth and characteristic dewlaps, are in silver. The goat's ears and thick shaggy goat-like hair are in perfect preservation ; the Mercury or Bacchus has silver eyes, and lips that have been enamelled. The pedestals are modern.

Combinations of various symbolical attributes in one figure were frequently produced by the later Greek artists, who flourished in the time of the Roman empire. The Pantheistic statues are all of this period ; and in Herculaneum and Pompeii many specimens have been discovered of small bronzes with complicated symbols, like those here brought together.

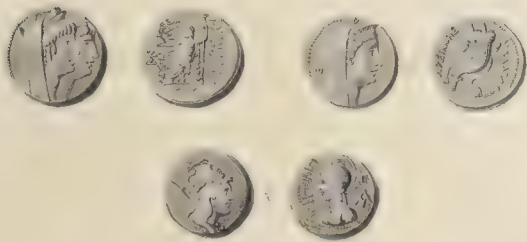
Loops on the head of each of these busts indicate their having been designed for weights.





PLATE LVIII.

THE original of this small bronze statue of Ceres, with a cow on her lap, forms one of the numerous remains of antient art collected by Horace Earl of Orford, at Strawberry Hill. The goddess holds a patera with ears of corn in her right hand, and a cup or vase in her left. The silver eyes are still preserved, and give a stern fixed expression to the countenance. As a specimen of art this bronze is not of great merit; but the combination of the animal with Ceres is not frequent: and it had been selected for this work by the late Mr. Knight, who treats of it at large in Sect. 36, of his inquiry into the symbolical language of antient art and mythology.



END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON PRINTED BY WILLIAM NICOL, 51, PALL MALL.

AN
INQUIRY
INTO
THE SYMBOLICAL LANGUAGE
OF
ANCIENT ART AND MYTHOLOGY.
BY
R. P. KNIGHT.

THE following Essay was written by the learned author for the purpose of being published as the Preliminary Dissertation to the present volume; but circumstances having occurred to prevent the publication of the volume till a period much later than was originally contemplated, the author judged it expedient to print his views on the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology for the information of a select circle of his private friends: a few years afterwards he was induced to allow of its being reprinted in four or five successive numbers of the Classical Journal; and the Society of Dilettanti has from that period ceased to consider the Essay as especially belonging to the work for which it was originally written: and that which appears at the head of this volume has been substituted for it.

Whilst however this volume has been going through the press, the Society have received from various quarters suggestions that it might be advisable to revise their decision on this subject; and it has been finally resolved that the Essay, in the same form in which it first appeared from the hands of the author, should be reprinted as a part of the present work.

In taking this step they think it but due to the memory of this distinguished member of their Society, to state their conviction that if his life had been longer spared to the learned world, and he had possessed the advantage of seeing the various ancient monuments in bronze, in terra cotta vases and even in medals which have been brought to light within the last ten years, he would probably have found reason to modify many of the opinions contained in these pages. But however imperfect in this respect the Essay may appear to many of its readers, it is acknowledged by all who have had access to it, to contain so much erudition, and such strong proofs of the author's deep and recondite knowledge of the philosophy and mythology of Greece, that it well deserves a place which will ensure to it a permanent existence in the best public and private libraries of this country and of the Continent, and thus make it accessible to all who may wish to consult it.

As frequent references are made in the notes appended to this Essay to coins or other remains of antiquity in the author's cabinet, it is important that the reader should be aware that all these objects are now in the British Museum, to which establishment they were bequeathed by the will of Mr. R. P. Knight.

AN
INQUIRY
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BY
R. P. KNIGHT,

1818.

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1835.

AN INQUIRY,

&c. &c.

1. As all the most interesting and important subjects of ancient art are taken from the religious or poetical mythology of the times; a general analysis of the principles and progress of that mythology will afford a more complete, as well as more concise, explanation of particular monuments, than can be conveyed in separate dissertations annexed to each.

2. The primitive religion of the Greeks, like that of all other nations not enlightened by Revelation, appears to have been elementary; and to have consisted in an indistinct worship of the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, and the waters,¹ or rather to the spirits supposed to preside over those bodies, and to direct their motions and regulate their modes of existence. Every river, spring, or mountain, had its local genius or peculiar deity; and as men naturally endeavour to obtain the favor of their gods, by such means as they feel best adapted to win their own, the first worship consisted in offering to them certain portions of whatever they held to be most valuable. At the same time that the regular motions of the heavenly bodies, the stated returns of summer and winter, of day and night, with all the admirable order of the universe, taught them to believe in the existence and agency of such superior powers; the irregular and destructive efforts of nature, such as lightning and tempests, inundations and earthquakes, persuaded them that these mighty beings had passions and affections similar to their own, and only differed in possessing greater strength, power, and intelligence.

3. In every stage of society men naturally love the marvellous; but in the early stages, a certain portion of it is absolutely necessary to make any narration sufficiently interesting to attract attention, or obtain an audience: whence the actions of gods are intermixed with those of men in the earliest traditions or histories of all nations; and poetical fable occupied the place of historical truth in their accounts of the transactions of war and policy, as well as in those of the revolutions of nature and origin of things. Each had produced some renowned warriors, whose mighty achievements had been assisted by the favor, or obstructed by the anger of the gods; and each had some popular tales concerning the means by which those gods had constructed the universe, and the principles upon which they continued to govern it: whence the Greeks and Romans found a Hercules in every country which they visited, as well as in their own; and the adventures of some such hero supply the first materials for history, as a cosmogony or theogony exhibits the first system of philosophy, in every nation.

4. As the maintenance of order and subordination among men required the authority of a supreme magistrate, the continuation and general predominance of order and regularity in the universe would naturally suggest the idea of a supreme God, to whose sovereign control all the rest were subject; and this ineffable personage the primitive Greeks appear to have called by a name expressive of the sentiment, which the contemplation of his great characteristic attribute naturally inspired, *Zeus*,

¹ Φαινεται μοι οι πρωτοι των ανθρωπων των περι την 'Ελλαδα ταντους μόνους θεους ήγισθαι, ούσπερ νυν πολλοι των βαρβαρων, ήλιον, και σελήνην, και γην, και αυτρα, και ουρανον. Platon, in Cratyl.

Δεός, or *Deus*, signifying, according to the most probable etymology, reverential fear or awe.² Their poets, however, soon debased his dignity, and made him the subject of as many wild and extravagant fables, as any of his subject progeny; which fables became a part of their religion, though never seriously believed by any but the lowest of the vulgar.

5. Such appear to be the general principles and outlines of the popular faith, not only among the Greeks, but among all other primitive nations, not favored by the lights of Revelation: for though the superiority and subsequent universality of the Greek language, and the more exalted genius and refined taste of the early Greek poets, have preserved the knowledge of their sacred mythology more entire; we find traces of the same simple principles and fanciful superstructures, from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Ganges: and there can be little doubt, that the voluminous poetical cosmogonies still extant among the Hindoos, and the fragments preserved of those of the Scandinavians, may afford us very competent ideas of the style and subjects of those ponderous compilations in verse, which constituted the mystic lore of the ancient priests of Persia,³ Germany,⁴ Spain,⁵ Gaul, and Britain; and which in the two latter countries were so extensive, that the education of a Druid sometimes required twenty years.⁶ From the specimens above mentioned, we may, nevertheless, easily console ourselves for the loss of all of them, as poetical compositions; whatever might have been their value in other respects.

6. But besides this vulgar religion, or popular mythology, there existed, in the more civilized countries of Greece, Asia, and Egypt, a secret or mystic system, preserved, generally by an hereditary priesthood, in temples of long-established sanctity; and only revealed, under the most solemn vows of secrecy, to persons who had previously proved themselves to be worthy of the important trust. Such were the mysteries of Eleusis, in Attica; which being so near to the most polished, powerful, and learned city of Greece, became more celebrated and more known than any others; and are, therefore, the most proper for a particular investigation, which may lead to a general knowledge of all.

7. These mysteries were under the guardianship of Ceres and Proserpine; and were called *τελεται*, *endings* or *finishes*; because no person could be perfect that had not been initiated, either into them, or some others. They were divided into two stages or degrees; the first or lesser of which was a kind of holy purification, to prepare the mind for the divine truths, which were to be revealed to it in the second or greater.⁷ From one to five years of probation were required between them; and at the end of it, the initiate, on being found worthy, was admitted into the inmost recesses of the temple, and made acquainted with the first principles of religion;⁸ the *knowledge of the God of nature; the first, the supreme, the intellectual;*⁹ *by which men had been reclaimed from rudeness and barbarism, to elegance and refinement; and been taught not only to live with more comfort, but to die with better hopes.*¹⁰

8. When Greece lost her liberty, the periods of probation were dispensed with in favor of her acknowledged sovereigns;¹¹ but, nevertheless, so sacred and awful was this subject, that even in the lowest stage of her servitude and depression, the Emperor Nero did not dare to compel the priests to initiate him, on account of the murder of his mother.¹² To divulge any thing thus learnt was

² Παρα τισι δὲ καὶ Δεός λεγεται (ὁ Ζεὺς). Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 2.

The letter Z was, as is well known, no other than ΔΣ, or ΣΔ, expressed by one character; and in the refinement of the language, and variation of dialects, the Σ was frequently dropped, as appears from the very ancient medals of Zancle, in Sicily, inscribed ΔΑΝΚΑΕ.

In the genuine parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, there is no instance of a vowel continuing short before ΔΕΟΣ, ΔΕΙΝΟΣ, ΔΕΙΔΩ, &c.; so that the initial was originally a double consonant, probably ΔΣ; which at first became ΔΔ, and afterwards Δ, though the metre of the old bards has preserved the double time in the utterance.

³ Vices centum millia versuum a Zoroastre condita. Hermippus apud Plin. lib. xxx. c. 1.

⁴ Celebrant (Germani) carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoris et annalium genus, Taistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Tacit. de M. G. c. 2.

⁵ Της παλαιας μνημης εχουσι (τοιουδουλοι) τα συγγραμματα και ποιηματα, και νομους ιμμετρους εξακισχιλιων ετων, ως φασι. Strab. lib. iii. p. 139.

⁶ Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur: itaque nonnulli annos vicienos in disciplina permanent; neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare. Cæs. de B. G. lib. vi.

⁷ Μυστηρια δὲ δύο τελεται του ενιαυτου, Δημητρι και Κορη, τα μικρα και τα μεγαλα. και εστι τα μικρα ὡςτις προκαταβρις και προαγωγιστις των μεγαλων. Scholiast. in Aristoph.

⁸ Salmas. not. in AEL Spartan. Hist. p. 116. Meurs. Eleusin. c. viii. &c.

⁹ ὡν τилоς εστιν ἡ του πρωτου, και κυριου, και νοητου γινωσις. Plutarch de Is. et Osir.

¹⁰ Mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse—tū nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculi, ad humanitatem mitigati sumus: initiaque, ut appellatur, ita revera principia vite cognovimus: neque solum cum lætitiâ vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliori moriendi. Cicéron. de Leg. l. i. c. 24.

και μην ὁ των αλλων ακουσις, οἱ πειθουσι πολλους, λεγοντες ως ουδεν ουδαμ τι διελθιντι κακον, ουδε λυπηρον εστιν, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι εωλει σι πιστευειν ὁ πατριος λογος, και τα μυστικα συμβολα των περι του Διονυσου οργιασμων, ὁ συνισμενι αλληλοισ οἱ κοινονοουντες. Plutarch. de Consol.

¹¹ Plutarch. in Demetr.

¹² Sueton. in Neron. c. 34.

everywhere considered as the extreme of wickedness and impiety; and at Athens was punished with death;¹³ on which account Alcibiades was condemned, together with many other illustrious citizens, whose loss contributed greatly to the ruin of that republic, and the subversion of its empire.¹⁴

9. Hence it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information concerning any of the mystic doctrines: all the early writers turning away from the mention of them with a sort of religious horror;¹⁵ and those of later times, who have pretended to explain them, being to be read with much caution; as their assertions are generally founded on conjecture, and oftentimes warped by prejudices in favor of their own particular systems and opinions in religion and philosophy. Little more direct information is, indeed, to be obtained from ancient writers, than that contained in the above cited passages; from which we only learn that more pure, exalted, and philosophical doctrines concerning the nature of the Deity, and the future state of man, were taught, than those which were derived from the popular religion.

10. From other passages, however, we learn that these doctrines were conveyed under allegories and symbols;¹⁶ and that the completely initiated were called *inspectors*.¹⁷ whence we may reasonably infer that the last stage of initiation consisted in an explanation and exposition of those allegorical tales and symbolical forms, under which they were veiled. "All that can be said concerning the gods," says Strabo, "must be by the exposition of old opinions and fables; it being the custom of the ancients to wrap up in enigma and fable their thoughts and discourses concerning nature; which are not therefore easily explained."¹⁸ "In all initiations and mysteries," says Proclus, "the gods exhibit themselves under many forms, and with a frequent change of shape; sometimes as light, defined to no particular figure; sometimes in a human form; and sometimes in that of some other creature."¹⁹ The wars of the Giants and Titans; the battle of the Python against Apollo; the flight of Bacchus, and wandering of Ceres, are ranked, by Plutarch, with the Ægyptian tales concerning Osiris and Typhon, as having the same meaning as the other modes of concealment employed in the mystic religion.²⁰

11. The remote antiquity of this mode of conveying knowledge by symbols, and its long-established appropriation to religious subjects, had given it a character of sanctity unknown to any other mode of writing; and it seems to have been a very generally received opinion, among the more discreet Heathens, that divine truth was better adapted to the weakness of human intellect, when veiled under symbols, and wrapt in fable and enigma, than when exhibited in the undisguised simplicity of genuine wisdom, or pure philosophy.²¹

12. The art of conveying ideas to the sight has passed through four different stages in its progress to perfection. In the first, the objects and events meant to be signified, were simply represented: in the second, some particular characteristic quality of the individual was employed to express a general quality or abstract idea; as a horse for swiftness, a dog for vigilance, or a hare for fecundity; in the third, signs of convention were contrived to represent ideas; as is now practised by the Chinese: and, in the fourth, similar signs of convention were adopted to represent the different modifications of tone in the voice; and its various divisions, by articulation, into distinct portions or syllables. This is what we call alphabetic writing; which is much more clear and simple than any other; the modifications of tone by the organs of the mouth, being much less various, and more distinct, than the modifications of ideas by the operations of the mind. The second, however, which, from its use among the Ægyptians, has been denominated the hieroglyphical mode of writing, was every where employed to convey or conceal the dogmas of religion; and we shall find that the

¹³ Andocid. orat. de myst. Sam. Petit. in leg. Attic. p. 33.

¹⁴ Thucyd. lib. vi. 60. 61. viii. 45. 46, &c.

¹⁵ Τ' ἄλλα μὲν ἐντομία κείσθαι, καθ' Ἡρόδοτον, ἐστὶ γὰρ μυστικώτερα. Plutarch. Symp. I. ii. q. 3.

Æschylus narrowly escaped being torn to pieces on the stage for bringing out something supposed to be mystic; and saved himself by proving that he had never been initiated. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. Aristot. Nicom. Eth. I. iii. c. I.

¹⁶ Ὁρφεὶ δὲ συμβόλων, Πυθαγόρειοι δὲ κικάνων τὰ θεῖα μῦθιν ἐφαιμένοι. Procl. in Theol. Plat. I. i. c. 4.

— διο καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐν ἀλληγοραῖς λέγεται πρὸς ἐκπλῆξιν καὶ φρίκην, ὥσπερ ἐν σκοτῇ καὶ νυκτὶ. Demetr. Phalar. de Eloc. s. 100.

¹⁷ Ἐπιστάται. All that is left in ancient authors concerning the ceremonies of initiation, &c. has been diligently collected and arranged by Meursius in his Eleusinia.

¹⁸ Πας δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀρχαῖος ἐξέταξι δοξὰς καὶ μύθους, αὐττομένων τῶν παλαιῶν, ἃς εἶχον ἐννοίας φυσικὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ προσθέντων αἰ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ μύθου· ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ αἰνίγματα λυεῖν ἀκρίβως οὐ ρέδον. lib. x. p. 474.

¹⁹ Ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ τινούσι οἱ θεοὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἑαυτῶν προτείνουσι μορφάς, πολλὰ δὲ σχήματα διαλλάττοντες φαίνονται· καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν προβιβάζεται φῶς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν ἐσχηματίζονται, τότε δὲ εἰς ἄλλοιων τύπων μετατρέφονται. Ἐκ τῆς πολυμ. Πλάτ. p. 380.

²⁰ Τὰ γὰρ Ἑγαινεῖα καὶ Τρανικὰ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὁδοῖται, καὶ Κρονίου τινος ἀσθεῖα πρᾶξις, καὶ Πυθίωνος ἀντιταξίς πρὸς Ἀπολλῶνι, φησὶ τὴν Διόνυσον καὶ ἑλευνὶ Διμήτρος, οὐδὲν ἀπαλείψουσι τῶν Ὀσπριακῶν καὶ Τυφονικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥν πᾶσιν ἐξέστιν ἀνέστη μυθολογούμενων ἀκούειν· ὅσα τὴν μυστικὴν ἱερίαν περικαλυπτομένα καὶ τελεῖαι, ἀρρήτα διασώζεται καὶ ἀθήα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς, ὁμοίον εἶναι λόγον. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

²¹ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. x. s. 4.

same symbols were employed to express the same ideas in almost every country of the northern hemisphere.

13. In examining these symbols in the remains of ancient art, which have escaped the barbarism and bigotry of the middle ages, we may sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between those compositions which are mere efforts of taste and fancy, and those which were emblems of what were thought divine truths: but, nevertheless, this difficulty is not so great, as it, at first view, appears to be: for there is such an obvious analogy and connection between the different emblematical monuments, not only of the same, but of different and remote countries, that, when properly arranged, and brought under one point of view, they, in a great degree, explain themselves by mutually explaining each other. There is one class, too, the most numerous and important of all, which must have been designed and executed under the sanction of public authority; and therefore whatever meaning they contain, must have been the meaning of nations, and not the caprice of individuals.

14. This is the class of coins, the devices upon which were always held so strictly sacred, that the most proud and powerful monarchs never ventured to put their portraits upon them until the practice of deifying sovereigns had enrolled them among the gods. Neither the kings of Persia, Macedonia, or Epirus, nor even the tyrants of Sicily ever took this liberty; the first portraits, that we find upon money, being those of the Ægyptian and Syrian dynasties of Macedonian princes, whom the flattery of their subjects had raised to divine honours. The artists had indeed before found a way of gratifying the vanity of their patrons without offending their piety, which was by mixing their features with those of the deity, whose image was to be impressed; an artifice which seems to have been practised in the coins of several of the Macedonian kings, previous to the custom of putting their portraits upon them.²³

15. It is, in a great degree, owing to the sanctity of the devices that such numbers of very ancient coins have been preserved fresh and entire: for it was owing to this that they were put into tombs, with vases and other sacred symbols, and not, as Lucian has ludicrously supposed, that the dead might have the means of paying for their passage over the Styx: the whole fiction of Charon and his boat being of late date, and posterior to many tombs, in which coins have been found.

16. The first species of money that was circulated by tale, and not by weight, of which we have any account, consisted of spikes, or small obelisks of brass or iron; which were, as we shall show, symbols of great sanctity and high antiquity. Six of them being as many as the hand could conveniently grasp, the words *obolus* and *drachma*, signifying *spike* and *handful*, continued, after the invention of coining, to be employed in expressing the respective value of two pieces of money, the one of which was worth six of the other.²⁴ In Greece and Macedonia, and, probably, wherever the Macedonians extended their conquests, the numerary division seems to have regulated the scale of coinage; but, in Sicily and Italy, the mode of reckoning by weight, or according to the lesser talent and its subdivisions,²⁵ universally prevailed. Which mode was in use among the Asiatic colonies, prior to their subjection to the Athenians or Macedonians, or which is the most ancient, we have not been able to discover. Probably, however, it was that by weight, the only one which appears to have been known to the Homeric Greeks; the other may have been introduced by the Dorians.

17. By opening the tombs, which the ancients held sacred, and exploring the foundations of ruined cities, where money was concealed, modern cabinets have been enriched with more complete series of coins than could have been collected in any period of antiquity. We can thus bring under one point of view the whole progress of the art from its infancy to its decline, and compare the various religious symbols which have been employed in ages and countries remote from each other. These symbols have the great advantage over those preserved in other branches of sculpture, that they have never been mutilated or restored; and also that they exhibit two compositions together, one on each side of the coin, which mutually serve to explain each other, and thus enable us to read the symbolical or mystical writing with more certainty than we are enabled to do in any other monuments. It is principally, therefore, under their guidance that we shall endeavour to

²³ See those of Archelaus, Amyntas, Alexander II. Perdiccas, Philip, Alexander the Great, Philip Arrideus, and Seleucus I. in all which the different characters and features, respectively given to the different heads of Hercules, seem meant to express those of the respective princes. For the frequency of this practice in private families among the Romans, see Statii Sylv. l. V. i. 231—4.

²⁴ Το μόνον των οβελών ονομα, οί μιν ότι παλαι βουλευτοίς οβελός εχρηστο προς τας αμοιβας, ών το ύπο τη δρακι πληθος ιδεσθαι καλιστα δραχμ. τα δε ονοματα, και τον νομισματος καταπισσόντες, ως την νυν χρναν ενεμενεν εκ της χρονας της παλαιας. Poll. lib. ix. c. vi. s. 77. see also Eustath. in Il. p. 136. Ed. Rom.

²⁵ See Bentley on the Epistles of Phalaris, &c.

explore the vast and confused labyrinths of poetical and allegorical fable; and to separate us accurately as we can, the theology from the mythology of the ancients: by which means alone we can obtain a competent knowledge of the mystic, or, as it was otherwise called, the Orphic faith,²⁵ and explain the general style and language of symbolical art in which it was conveyed.

18. Ceres and Bacchus,²⁶ called, in Ægypt, Isis and Osiris, and, in Syria, Venus and Adonis, were the deities, in whose names, and under whose protection, persons were most commonly instructed in this faith.²⁷ The word Bacchus or Iacchus is a title derived from the exclamations uttered in the festivals of this god;²⁸ whose other Latin name Liber is also a title signifying the same attribute as the Greek epithet ΑΥΣΙΟΣ or ΑΥΣΩΝ, which will be hereafter explained. But, from whence the more common Greek name ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ is derived, or what it signifies, is not so easy to determine, or even to conjecture with any reasonable probability. The first part of it appears to be from ΔΕΥΣ, ΔΙΟΣ, or ΔΙΣ, the ancient name of the supreme universal god; but whether the remainder is significant of the place, from which this deity came into Greece, or of some attribute belonging to him, we cannot pretend to say; and the conjectures of etymologists, both ancient and modern, concerning it are not worthy of notice.²⁹ An ingenious writer in the Asiatic Researches derives the whole name from a Sanscrit title of an Oriental demi-god;³⁰ and as Ansonius says it was Indian,³¹ this derivation appears more probable than most others of the kind.

19. At Sicyon, in the Peloponnesus, he was worshipped under another title, which we shall not venture to explain, any further than that it implies his having the peculiar superintendence and direction of the characteristics of the female sex.³² At Lampsacus too, on the Hellespont, he was venerated under a symbolical form adapted to a similar office; though with a title of a different signification, Priapus, which will be hereafter explained.³³

20. According to Herodotus, the name Dionysus or Bacchus, with the various obscene and extravagant rites that distinguished his worship, was communicated to the Greeks by Melampus;³⁴ who appears to have flourished about four generations before the Trojan war;³⁵ and who is said to have received his knowledge of the subject from Cadmus and the Phœnicians, who settled in Bœotia.³⁶ The whole history, however, of this Phœnician colony is extremely questionable; and we shall show in the sequel that the name Cadmus was probably a corruption of a mystic title of the deity. The Cadmeii, a people occupying Thebes, are mentioned in the Iliad;³⁷ and Ino or Leucothoë, a daughter of Cadmus, is mentioned as a sea-goddess in the Odyssey;³⁸ but no notice is taken in either poem of his being a Phœnician; nor is it distinctly explained whether the poet understood him to have been a man or a god; though the former is most probable, as his daughter is said to have been born mortal.

²⁵ Pausan. l. i. c. 38.

²⁶ Πλησαν νας ἐπὶ Διμήτρος ἀγάλματα δι' αὐτὴν τε καὶ ἡ παῖς, καὶ δὲ δα σκῆον Ιακχος. Pausan. in Att. c. ii. s. 4.

²⁷ Τῶν μὲν γὰρ Οσιρίδος τέλειαν τὴν Διονύσου τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, τὴν Ισιδος τὴν Διμήτρος ὁμοιοτάτην ὑπαρχεῖν, τῶν ἀνομάτων μόνον ἐνδεδεγμένων. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 104. Ed. Wessel.

Ὁσιρην Διονύσου εἶναι λέγουσιν (Αἰγυπτίαι). Herodot. lib. ii. c. 42.

Ὡ μακαρ, ὅστις αἰδῶν
τίλειος θινὸν εἶδος
βίεται ἁγιστεῖν·

τα τε Μαρὸς μεγαλα
ἀργία Κυβέλης θιμωστῶν,
ἀνα θυραὺν τι τῆσσι,
κίσση τε στεφανώθει,
Διονύσου θρασυτεῖ.

Eurip. Bac. v. 73.

²⁸ They are in fact the same name in different dialects, the ancient verb FAXΩ, in Laconian BAXΩ, having become by the accession of the augment FIFAXΩ, γ. ιαω.

²⁹ See Macrob. l. i. c. 18. Bryant on Ancient Mythology.

³⁰ Vol. iii. p. 304.

³¹ Epigr. xxx.

Ogygia me Bacchum vocat,
Ogyrin Ægyptus putat;
Mysæ Phænacen nominant;
Dionysum Indi existimant, &c.

³² Διονύσου δι' ἡδὴ σῶπται τὸν ΧΟΙΡΟΨΑΛΗΝ· Σικωνιοὶ τοῦτον προσκυνούσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικείων ταξέντες τὸν Διονύσου μερῶν. Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 33.

³³ Τίματι δι' παρα Λαμψακηνὸς ὁ Πριαπός, ὃ αὐτὸς ὡν τὴν Διονύσην εἰς ἐπιθετοῦ καλούμενος οὔτως, ὡς Θριαμβὸς καὶ Διέβραμβος. Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. i. p. 30. 6.

³⁴ Ἑλλῆσι γὰρ δι' Μελამπεύς ἐστι ὁ ἐξηγητὴς τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν θύειν, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. lib. ii. c. 49.

³⁵ Odys. O. 226. et seqq.

³⁶ Πυθιθεῖαι μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελαιμόνους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διονύσου παρα Κάδμου τοῦ Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῇ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀποικιστῶν ἐς τὴν νῦν βιωμένην καλούμενην χώραν. Herodot. ii. 49.

³⁷ E. 807.

³⁸ E. 334.

21. General tradition has attributed the introduction of the mystic religion into Greece, to Orpheus, a Thracian;⁵² who, if he ever lived at all, lived probably about the same time with Melampus, or a little earlier.⁵³ The traditions concerning him are, however, extremely vague and uncertain; and the most learned and sagacious of the Greeks is said to have denied that such a person had ever existed;⁵⁴ but, nevertheless, we learn from the very high authority of Strabo that the Greek music was all Thracian or Asiatic;⁵⁵ and, from the unquestionable testimony of the Iliad, that the very ancient poet Thamyris was of that country;⁵⁶ to which tradition has also attributed the other old sacerdotal bards, Musæus and Eumolpus.⁵⁷

22. As there is no mention, however, of any of the mystic deities; nor of any of the rites with which they were worshipped, in any of the genuine parts either of the Iliad or Odyssey, nor any trace of the symbolical style in any of the works of art described in them; nor of allegory or enigma in the fables, which adorn them; we may fairly presume that both the rites of initiation and the worship of Bacchus, are of a later period, and were not generally known to the Greeks till after the composition of those poems. The Orphic hymns, too, which appear to have been invocations or litanies used in the mysteries,⁵⁸ are proved, both by the language and the matter, to be of a date long subsequent to the Homeric times; there being in all of them abbreviations and modes of speech not then known; and the form of worshipping or glorifying the deity by repeating adulatory titles not being then in use, though afterwards common.⁵⁹

23. In Ægypt, nevertheless, and all over Asia, the mystic and symbolical worship appears to have been of immemorial antiquity. The women of the former country carried images of Osiris, in their sacred processions, with a moveable phallus of disproportionate magnitude, the reason for which Herodotus does not think proper to relate, because it belonged to the mystic religion.⁶⁰ Diodorus Siculus, however, who lived in a more communicative age, informs us that it signified the generative attribute,⁶¹ and Plutarch that the Ægyptian statues of Osiris had the phallus to signify his procreative and prolific power;⁶² the extension of which through the three elements of air, earth, and water, they expressed by another kind of statue, which was occasionally carried in procession, having a triple symbol of the same attribute.⁶³ The Greeks usually represented the phallus alone, as a distinct symbol, the meaning of which seems to have been among the last discoveries revealed to the initiated.⁶⁴ It was the same, in emblematical writing, as the Orphic epithet ΠΑΓΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ, *universal generator*; in which sense it is still employed by the Hindoos.⁶⁵ It has also been observed among the idols of the native Americans,⁶⁶ and ancient Scandinavians;⁶⁷ nor do we think the conjecture of an ingenious writer improbable, who supposes that the may-pole was a symbol of the same meaning; and the first of May a great phallic festival both among the ancient Britons and Hindoos; it being still celebrated with nearly the same rites in both countries.⁶⁸ The Greeks changed, as usual, the personified attribute into a distinct deity called Priapus, whose universality was, however, acknowledged to the latest periods of heathenism.⁶⁹

24. In this universal character, he is celebrated by the Greek poets under the title of Love or Attraction, the first principle of animation; the father of gods and men; and the regulator and disposer of all things.⁷⁰ He is said to *pervade the universe with the motion of his wings, bringing*

⁵² Φασί πρῶτον Ὀρφεα, τὸν Ὑγροῦ, μετασημασμένον τὰ παρ' Ἀργυνταίῳ, Ἑλλὰσι μεταδόναι μυστήρια. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 6.

Ὀρφεὺς μιν γὰρ τίλτας θ' ἤμιν κατέδειξε φόνον ὁ ἀντιχρῆσθαι. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1032.

Ἀπασα γὰρ ἡ παρ' Ἑλλὰσι θεολογία τῆς Ὀρφικῆς ἐστὶ μυσταγωγίας ἐργονος. Proclus in Theol. Plat. lib. i. c. 5.

Τίλτην αἰοῦσιν (Ἀργινταί) ἀνα πάντας Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφεα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾶκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τίλτην Ἀργυνταί. Pausan. in Cor. c. xxx. s. 2.

⁵³ According to the Parian or Arundelian marble, the Eleusinian mysteries were introduced 175 years before the Trojan war; but Plutarch attributes their introduction to Eumolpus. de Exil.

⁵⁴ Orpheum poetam doctet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse. Cic. de N. D. lib. i. c. 28. The passage is not in the works of Aristototele now extant. ⁵⁵ Lib. x. p. 471. ⁵⁶ Il. B. 595. ⁵⁷ Plutarch. de Exil.

⁵⁸ Ὅστις δι' ἐξὶ τίλτην ἑλθόντι ἰδέν, ἡ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφέα ἐπὶ δέξασθαι, οὐδὲν ὁ λέγω. Pausan. in Attic. c. xxxvii. s. 3.

⁵⁹ — στίφανος σπουδῇ αὐτὸν (τοῦ κισσῶν) ποιῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ στεφανώσασθαι εἶχον, ἐμφυμνόντας καὶ τὰς ἐκωνίμιας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλόντας. Arrian. lib. v.

⁶⁰ Διότι δι' αἰῶν τε εἶμι το αἰδόντι, καὶ κινεῖ μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἐστὶ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ λίρος λέγοντες. lib. ii. c. 88.

⁶¹ Lib. i. c. 88.

⁶² Πανταχοῦ δι' καὶ ἀνθρωπομορφῶν Ὀσιρίδος ἀγάλματα δεικνύουσιν, ἐξορθαῖον τῇ αἰδοῖ, διὰ το γένοντι καὶ τροφίμον. de Is. et Osir.

⁶³ Ἀγάλμα προσθένται, καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὐ το αἰδοῖαν τρηπλάσιον ἐστίν. Ibid. p. 365.

⁶⁴ Post tot suspiria eportatum, totum signaculum lingue, simulachrum membri virilis revelatur. Tertull. adv. Valentinianos.

⁶⁵ Sonneret Voyage aux Indes.

⁶⁶ Lefstadv Mœurs des Sauvages. vol. i. p. 150.

⁶⁷ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 165, 192, 194, and 305.

⁶⁸ Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 87—94.

⁶⁹ PRIEPO PANTHEO. Titul. ant. in Gruter. vol. i. p. 95. No. 1.

⁷⁰ See Aristoph. Vesp. 693. et seqq. ed. Brunk. Hesiod. Theogon. 116. Parmenid. apud Stob. lib. i. c. 10. Orph. Hymn. v. xlix et lvi.

pure light: and thence to be called the splendid, the self-illuminated, the ruling *Priapus*;⁵⁰ light being considered, in this primitive philosophy, as the great nutritive principle of all things.⁵¹ Wings are attributed to him as the emblems of spontaneous motion; and he is said to have sprung from the egg of night, because the egg was the ancient symbol of organic matter in its inert state; or, as Plutarch calls it, the material of generation,⁵² containing the seeds and germs of life and motion without being actually possessed of either. It was, therefore, carried in procession at the celebration of the mysteries, for which reason, Plutarch, in the passage above cited, declines entering into a more particular disquisition concerning its nature; the Platonic Interlocutor, in the Dialogue, observing, that though a small question, it comprehended a very great one, concerning the generation of the world itself, known to those who understood the Orphic and sacred language; the egg being consecrated, in the Bacchic mysteries, as the image of that, which generated and contained all things in itself.⁵³

25. As organic substance was represented by the symbol of the egg; so the principle of life, by which it was called into action, was represented by that of the serpent; which having the property of casting its skin, and apparently renewing its youth, was naturally adopted for that purpose. We sometimes find it coiled round the egg, to express the incubation of the vital spirit; and it is not only the constant attendant upon the guardian deities of health,⁵⁴ but occasionally employed as an accessory symbol to almost every other god,⁵⁵ to signify the general attribute of immortality. For this reason it served as a general sign of consecration;⁵⁶ and not only the deified heroes of the Greeks, such as Cecrops and Erichthonius, but the virgin Mother of the Scythians, and the consecrated Founder of the Japanese, were represented terminating in serpents.⁵⁷ Both the Scythians and Parthians, too, carried the image of a serpent or dragon, upon the point of a spear, for their military standard;⁵⁸ as the Tartar princes of China still continue to do; whence we find this figure perpetually represented on their stuffs and porcelaine, as well as upon those of the Japanese. The inhabitants of Norway and Sweden continued to pay divine honours to serpents down to the sixteenth century;⁵⁹ and almost all the Runic inscriptions, found upon tombs, are engraved upon the sculptured forms of them;⁶⁰ the emblems of that immortality, to which the deceased were thus consecrated. Macha Alla, the god of life and death among the Tartars, has serpents entwined round his limbs and body to express the first attribute, and human skulls and scalps on his head, and at his girdle, to express the second.⁶¹ The jugglers and divines also, of North America, make themselves girdles and chaplets of serpents, which they have the art to tame and familiarise;⁷⁰ and, in the great temple of Mexico, the captives taken in war, and sacrificed to the sun, had each a wooden collar in the shape of a serpent put round his neck while the priest performed the horrid rites.⁷¹ In the kingdom of Juida, about the fourth degree of latitude, on the western coast of Africa, one of

παμφεις ερως
οσσιν υς σκευισσαν απημανρωσας ομιλην.
παντη δυνεις πτερυγων ρισεις κατα κοσμον,
λαμπρον αγων φως εγγον' αφ' ου σε φανητα κυλησκει,
ηδε Πριηπον ανακτα, και αυταυγη ιλκευτον.
αλλ' ει τα θνητα μη κατασχευησθ' ιτι
γινεσθαι, την γων παντα βοσκουσιν φλογα
ειδισθ' ανακτος ελκου. Orph. Hymn. V. v. 5.
Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. 1437.

⁵⁰ Ὑλη της γενεσεως. Sympos. lib. ii. q. 3.
⁵¹ Ες μισον υλην προβλημα περι του νου και της οριθως, υποτιρον γινεσθαι προτερον αυτων. και Σωλλας ο εταυρος, ιτιναι, οτι μερω προβληματι, καθοπερ οργανη, μεγα και βαρυ σαλυσμεν το περι του κοσμου της γενεσεως, απηγορευον. — αισω ευνετοιαν του Ορφικου και ιερον λογον, ος ουκ οριθως μονου το νον αποφανει πρεσβυτερον, αλλα και συλλαβων απασαν αυτην την απαντων ομου πρεσβυγενειαν ανατιθουσι και τ' αλλα μεν ιστομα κισθω (καθ' Ηροδοτον), ιστι γαρ μυστικωτερα. — οθεν ουκ απο τροπον τοις περι του Διονυσου οργιασμοις, ως μνημα του τα παντα γεννωτος και περιεχοντος ει αυτη, συγκαθιστοιται. — ενιχισθαι δογμασιν Ορφικους η Πυθαγορικους και το νον. — αρχην ηγουμενους γενεσεως, αφοσιουσθαι. Plutarch. Sympos. I. ii. q. iii. s. 1.

⁵² Δρακοντα αυτη (τη Ασκληπιω) παριστοι, οτι ομοιον τι τουτη πασχουσιν οι χρομενοι τη ιατρικη, κατα το οιοσιν αναναεζιν εκ των νουων, και αποδυσθαι το γηρας. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. xxxiii.

⁵³ Παρ παντι του νομιζομενου παρ' ημεν θινω οφει συμβολον μεγα και μυστηριον αναγραφεται. Justin. Martyr. Apol. ii. p. 70.
⁵⁴ Pingue duos angues, pueri, sacer est locus. Pers. Sat. i.

⁵⁵ Μιθολογικηι Σενβαι γηγενη παρ' αυτους γινεσθαι παρθινον' ταυτην ε' εχιν τα μεν ανω μερη του σωματος μεχρι της ζωνης γυναιεα, τα δε κατωτερα εχουσης' ταυτη δε Δια μεγενη γεννησιν ταυθα Σενβαν ονομα. Diodor. Sic. ii. 43. Kampher, Hist. of Japan, b. ii. p. 143.

⁵⁶ Atrian. in Pref. p. 80. Lucian. de Hist. conscrib. p. 39.
⁵⁷ Serpentes ut sacros colebant; — fidium servatores atque penates existimantes; — reliquie tamen hujus superstitione cultum — in nonnullis secretis solitudinum adibusque perseverant; sicuti in septentrionalibus regnis Norvegie ac Vermelandie. Ol. Magn. de Gent. Septent. Hist. Epit. l. iii.

⁵⁸ Ol. Varelhii Hungr. Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. No. iii. c. 1.
⁵⁹ Voyage en Sibirie par l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, pl. xviii. The figure in brass is in the collection of Mr. Knight.

⁶⁰ Laftau Mœurs des Sauvages, t. i. p. 253. ⁷¹ Acosta's History of the Indies, p. 382.

these reptiles was lately, and perhaps is still, worshipped as the symbol of the Deity;⁷² and when Alexander entered India, Taxilus, a powerful prince of the country, showed him a serpent of enormous size, which he nourished with great care, and revered as the image of the god, whom the Greek writers, from the similitude of his attributes, call Dionysus or Bacchus.⁷³ The Epidaurians kept one in the same manner to represent Æsculapius;⁷⁴ as did likewise the Athenians, in their celebrated temple of Minerva, to signify the guardian or preserving deity of the Acropolis.⁷⁵ The Hindoo women still carry the lingam, or consecrated symbol of the generative attribute of the Deity, in solemn procession between two serpents;⁷⁶ and, in the sacred casket, which held the egg and phallus in the mystic processions of the Greeks, was also a serpent.⁷⁷ Over the porticoes of all the ancient Ægyptian temples, the winged disc of the sun is placed between two hooded snakes, signifying that luminary placed between its two great attributes of motion and life. The same combination of symbols, to express the same attributes, is observable upon the coins of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians;⁷⁸ and appears to have been anciently employed by the Druids of Britain and Gaul, as it still is by the idolaters of China.⁷⁹ The Scandinavian goddess Isa or Disa was sometimes represented between two serpents;⁸⁰ and a similar mode of canonization is employed in the apotheosis of Cleopatra, as expressed on her coins. Water-snakes, too, are held sacred among the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands;⁸¹ and, in the mysteries of Jupiter Sebazius, the initiated were consecrated by having a snake put down their bosoms.⁸²

26. The sort of serpent most commonly employed, both by the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, and Hindoos, is the hooded snake: but the Greeks frequently use a composite or ideal figure; sometimes with a radiated head, and sometimes with the crest or comb of a cock;⁸³ accessory symbols, which will be hereafter further noticed. The mystical serpent of the Hindoos, too, is generally represented with five heads, to signify, perhaps, the five senses: but still it is the hooded snake, which we believe to be a native of India, and consequently to have been originally employed as a religious symbol in that country; from whence the Ægyptians and Phœnicians probably borrowed it, and transmitted it to the Greeks and Romans; upon whose bracelets, and other symbolical ornaments, we frequently find it.

27. Not only the property of casting the skin, and acquiring a periodical renovation of youth, but also that of pertinaciously retaining life even in amputated parts, may have recommended animals of the serpent kind as symbols of health and immortality, though noxious and deadly in themselves. Among plants, the olive seems to have been thought to possess the same property in a similar degree;⁸⁴ and therefore was probably adopted to express the same attribute. At Athens it was particularly consecrated to Minerva; but the statue of Jupiter at Olympia was crowned with it;⁸⁵ and it is also observable on the heads of Apollo, Hercules, Cybèle, and other deities;⁸⁶ the preserving power, or attribute of immortality, being, in some mode or other, common to every personification of the divine nature. The victors in the Olympic games were also crowned with branches of the oleaster or wild olive;⁸⁷ the trunk of which, hung round with the arms of the vanquished in war, was the trophy of victory consecrated to the immortal glory of the conquerors;⁸⁸ for as it was a religious, as well as military symbol, it was contrary to the laws of war, acknowledged among the Greeks, to take it down, when it had been once duly erected.

28. Among the sacred animals of the Ægyptians, the bull, worshipped under the titles of Mnevis

⁷² Hist. gen. des Voyages, t. iv. p. 305.

⁷³ Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. c. 6.

⁷⁴ Liv. Hist. lib. xi. epitom.

⁷⁵ Herodot. lib. viii. 41.

⁷⁶ Sonnerat Voyage aux Indes, t. i. p. 253.

⁷⁷ See the cistæ mysticæ on the nummi cistophori of the Greek cities of Asia, which are extremely common, and to be found in all cabinets and books of ancient coins.

⁷⁸ Médailles de Dutens, p. 1. Mus. Hunter. tab. 15. fig. v. and viii.

⁷⁹ See Stukeley's Abury; the original name of which temple, he observes, was the snake's head: and it is remarkable the remains of a similar circle of stones in Boeotia had the same name in the time of Pausanias.

⁸⁰ Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Γλιισάντῃ εὐθιαν ἐκ Θηβῶν λείβας χωρίου περιεχομένου λογάσιον Ὁφέως καλοῦσι οἱ Θηβαῖοι κεφαλὴν. Pausan. Boeot. c. xix. s. 2.

⁸¹ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. pt. iii. c. 1. p. 25., and pt. ii. p. 343. fig. A., and p. 510.

⁸² Missionaries' first Voyage, p. 238.

⁸³ Arnob. lib. v. p. 171. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 14. Jul. Firmic. c. 27.

⁸⁴ See La Chaussée Mus. Rom. vol. ii. tab. xiii. and xiv. The radiated serpent is common on gems.

⁸⁵ Virgil Georgic. ii. v. 80. and 181.

⁸⁶ Εὐχέλσταντι δὲ μάλιστα τὰ λαίνα, καὶ ἀργὰ κείμενα καὶ ἐν ῥοσσηνὰ πολλὰς ἐν κίμα λαμβάνει, καὶ ἐχ γοῦπον νεότερον, ὥσπερ πᾶς τις στροφὴν τῆς θύρας ἐβλάσσει, καὶ ἡ κυλίκιον πλεθθῖνον κρητὴ τέθεικα ἐς πᾶλον. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. v. c. ix.

⁸⁷ Στέφανος δὲ ἐπικατὰ οἱ τῆ κεφαλῆ μωμηνίνοιο κλαίης κλῖνας. Pausan. in Eliac. I. c. xi. s. 1.

⁸⁸ See coins of Rhegium, Macedonia, Aradus, Tyre, &c.

⁸⁹ Κοτίνου στεφανῶν. Aristoph. Plut. 586.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 943.

and Apis, is one of the most distinguished. The Greeks called him Epaphus,⁵⁹ and we find his image, in various actions and attitudes, upon an immense number of their coins, as well as upon some of those of the Phœnicians, and also upon other religious monuments of almost all nations. The species of bull most commonly employed is the urus or wild bull, the strongest animal known in those climates, which are too cold for the propagation of the elephant;⁶⁰ a creature not known in Europe, nor even in the northern or western parts of Asia, till Alexander's expedition into India, though ivory was familiarly known even in the Homeric times.⁶¹ To express the attribute strength, in symbolical writing, the figure of the strongest animal would naturally be adopted: wherefore this emblem, generally considered, explains itself, though, like all others of the kind, it was modified and applied in various ways. The mystic Bacchus, or generative power, was represented under this form, not only upon the coins but in the temples of the Greeks;⁶² sometimes simply as a bull; at others, with a human face; and, at others, entirely human except the horns or ears.⁶³ The age, too, is varied; the bull being in some instances quite old, and in others quite young; and the humanised head being sometimes bearded,⁶⁴ and sometimes not.

29. The Mnevis of the Ægyptians was held by some to be the mystic father of Apis;⁶⁵ and as the one has the disc upon his head, and was kept in the City of the Sun, while the other is distinguished by the crescent,⁶⁶ it is probable that the one was the emblem of the divine power acting through the sun; and the other, of it acting through the moon, or (what was the same) through the sun by night. Apis, however, held the highest rank, he being exalted by the superstition of that superstitious people into something more than a mere symbol, and supposed to be a sort of incarnation of the Deity in a particular animal, revealed to them at his birth by certain external marks, which announced his having been miraculously conceived by means of a ray from Heaven.⁶⁷ Hence, when found, he was received by the whole nation with every possible testimony of joy and gratulation, and treated in a manner worthy of the exalted character bestowed on him;⁶⁸ which was that of the terrestrial image or representative of Osiris;⁶⁹ in whose statues the remains of the animal symbol may be traced.¹⁰⁰

30. Their neighbours the Arabs appear to have worshipped their god under the same image, though their religion was more simple and pure than that of any Heathen nation of antiquity, except the Persians, and perhaps the Scythians. They acknowledged only the male and female, or active and passive powers of creation; the former of whom they called Urotal;¹⁰¹ a name, which evidently alludes to the urus. Herodotus calls him Bacchus, as he does the female deity, *celestial Venus*; by which he means no more than that they were personifications of the attributes, which the Greeks worshipped under those titles.

31. The Chinese have still a temple called the Palace of the horned Bull;¹⁰² and the same symbol is worshipped in Japan, and all over Hindostan.¹⁰³ In the extremity of the West it was, also, once treated with equal honour; the Cimbrians having carried a brazen bull with them, as the image of their god, when they overran Spain and Gaul;¹⁰⁴ and the name of the god Thor, the Jupiter of the

⁵⁹ Ὁ δὲ Ἀπὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν ἵσται Ἐπαφός. Herodot. l. ii. c. 153.

Ἰσται ποτ' ἐχθροὶ
Ἐπαφόν, ὡς Δίος γένεθλον,
ἐκάλει' ἐκάλει.

Eurip. Phœnis. 688.

⁶⁰ Ctesar. de B. G. lib. vi.

⁶¹ Pausan. lib. i. c. 12. This proves that the coins with an elephant's skin on the head, are of Alexander II., king of Epirus, son of Pyrrhus.

⁶² Ταυροφ. i. e. Διονυσ. Lycophr. 209.

Ταυρομορφὸν Δίονυσον ταῖσι πρῶτον ἀγάλματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· αἱ δ' ἡλίων γυναικας καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν εὐχομένη, ποδὶ βοῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄλβαν πρὸς αὐτας. Ἀργεῖος δὲ Βουγενὴς Διονύσος ἐπύκην ἵσται. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

Εὐ δὲ Κνύσιον καὶ ταυρομορφὸς ἱδρύεται (ὁ Διονύσος.) Athen. Deipnos. lib. xi. p. 476.

⁶³ Bronzi d'Ercolano, t. i. tav. 1. Coins of Camerina, and plate ii. of the 1st volume of "the Select Specimens."

⁶⁴ Coins of Lampascus, Naxos, and plates xvi. and xxxix. of vol. i.

⁶⁵ Ὁ δὲ ἐν Ἡλιόπολει τροφομένος βούς, ὃν Μνεῖνιν καλοῦσιν, (Οσιρίδος δὲ ἱερόν, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπιδος πατέρα νομίζουσι) μέλας ἵσται, καὶ δευτέρως ἔχει τιμας μάτα τοῦ Ἀπιδ. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

⁶⁶ See Tab. Isiac. &c.

⁶⁷ Ὁ δὲ Ἀπὶς αὐτός, ὃ Ἐπαφός, γίγνεται μοσχὸς ἐκ βοός, ἥτις οὐκεὶ οἷα τι γίγνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βαλλέσθαι γάρων. Ἀργυπταὶ δὲ λέγουσι σίλας εἶναι τὴν βῆιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσχεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τούτου τιεῖν τὸν Ἀπιδ. Herodot. lib. iii. c. 28.

⁶⁸ Ib. c. 27.

⁶⁹ Εὐ δὲ Μιμήνι τριφεσθαι τὸν Ἀπιδ, ἐδόλον αὐτὰ τῆς ἐκείνου (τοῦ Οσιρίδος) ψυχῆς. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

¹⁰⁰ See plate ii. vol. i. of "the Select Specimens," where the horns of the bull are signified in the disposition of the hair.—τοῦ Ἀπιδος, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ αὐτός καὶ Οσιρίος. Strab. l. xvii.

¹⁰¹ Διονύσου δὲ θεῶν νομῶν καὶ τὴν Ουρανίην ἡγνύται εἶναι. — οὐνομαχοῦσιν δὲ τὸν μὲν Διονύσον Ουροτάλ. Herodot. lib. iii. c. 8.

¹⁰² Hist. gén. des Voyages, t. vi. p. 452.

¹⁰³ Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce, &c.

¹⁰⁴ Plutarch. in Mario.

ancient Scandinavians, signifying in their language a bull; as it does likewise in the Chaldee.¹⁰⁵ In the great metropolitan temple of the ancient northern hierarchy at Upsal, in Sweden, this god was represented with the head of a bull upon his breast;¹⁰⁶ and on an ancient Phœnician coin, we find a figure exactly resembling the Jupiter of the Greeks, with the same head on his chair, and the words Baal Thurz, in Phœnician characters, on the exergue.¹⁰⁷ In many Greek, and in some Ægyptian monuments, the bull is represented in an attitude of attack, as if striking at something with his horns;¹⁰⁸ and at Meaco in Japan, the creation of the world, or organization of matter, is represented by the Deity under the image or symbol of a bull breaking the shell of an egg with his horns, and animating the contents of it with his breath;¹⁰⁹ which probably explains the meaning of this attribute in the Greek and Ægyptian monuments; the practice of putting part of a composition for the whole being common in symbolical writing.¹¹⁰

32. In most of the Greek and Roman statues of the bull, that we have seen, whether in the character of Mnevis or Apis, of both which many are extant of a small size in bronze, there is a hole upon the top of the head between the horns, where the disc or crescent, probably of some other material, was fixed.¹¹¹ for as the mystical or symbolical was engrafted upon the old elementary worship, there is always a link of connexion remaining between them. The Bacchus of the Greeks, as well as the Osiris of the Ægyptians, comprehended the whole creative or generative power, and is therefore represented in a great variety of forms, and under a great variety of symbols, signifying his subordinate attributes.

33. Of these the goat is one that most frequently occurs; and as this animal has always been distinguished for its lubricity, it probably represents the attribute directed to the propagation of organized being in general.¹¹² The choral odes sung in honour of Bacchus were called ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ, or goat-songs; and a goat was the symbolical prize given on the occasion; it being one of the forms under which the god himself had appeared.¹¹³ The fauns and satyrs, the attendants and ministers of Bacchus, were the same symbol more or less humanised; and appear to have been peculiar to the Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans: for though the goat was among the sacred animals of the Ægyptians, and honoured with singular rites of worship at Mendes, we do not find any traces of these mixed beings in the remains of their art, nor in those of any other ancient nations of the East; though the Mendesian rites were admirably adapted to produce them in nature, had it been possible for them to exist;¹¹⁴ and the god Pan was there represented under such a form.¹¹⁵

34. But notwithstanding that this first-begotten Love, or mystic Bacchus, was called the Father of gods and men, and the Creator of all things, he was not the primary personification of the divine nature; Κρονος or Zeus, the unknown Father, being every where revered as the supreme and almighty. In the poetical mythology, these titles are applied to distinct personages, the one called the Father, and the other the Son: but in the mystic theology, they seem to have signified only one being—the being that fills eternity and infinity.¹¹⁶ The ancient theologists appear to have known that we can form no distinct or positive idea of infinity, whether of power, space, or time; it being fleeting and fugitive, and eluding the understanding by a continued and boundless progression. The only notion that we have of it, arises from the multiplication or division of finite things; which suggest the vague abstract notion, expressed by the word infinity, merely from a power, which we feel in ourselves, of still multiplying and dividing without end. Hence they adored the Infinite Being through personified attributes, signifying the various modes of exerting his almighty power; the most general, beneficial, and energetic of which being that universal principle of desire, or

¹⁰⁵ In the Phœnician it signified a cow.

¹⁰⁶ ΟΡΡ γὰρ οἱ Φοινίκης τὴν βουὴν καλοῦσιν. Plutarch. in Sylla, c. 17.

¹⁰⁷ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantic. pt. ii. c. 5. p. 300. fig. 28., and p. 321, 338 and 9.

¹⁰⁸ Médailles de Dutens, p. 1. The coin, still better preserved, is in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

¹⁰⁹ See coins of Thurium, Syracuse, Tauromenium, Attabrium, Magnesia, &c., and Denon Egypte, pl. cxxxii. No. 1.

¹¹⁰ Memorable Embassy to the Emperor of Japan, p. 283.

¹¹¹ See coins of Acanthus, Marones, Eretria, &c.

¹¹² Five are in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight, one of which has the disc remaining.

Μεταξὺν δὲ τῶν κτείνων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κυκλὸς μεμνημένος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ. κατὰ δὲ ἡ βουὴν αὐκ ὀρθή, ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη. Herodot. ii. 132.

¹¹³ See Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 88.

¹¹⁴ Apollodor. Biblioth. l. iii. c. 4. s. 3.

¹¹⁵ Γυναικὶ τραγὸς ἐμειγμένο ἀναφανδόν. Herodot. ii. 46.

¹¹⁶ Γραφόνται τε δὲ καὶ γλήφονται οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς ταῦτά γε, καταπρὶ Ἑλλήνας, ἀγοσπερπωπὴν καὶ τραγὸσσκελῆ. Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ὅρρε τὸν ὕψον τοῦδ' ἀπὸ τῶν αἰθέρα
καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἐχόντ' ὕψους ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νομίζε Ζεὺς, τοῦ δ' ἡγῶν ὅτεον.

Eurip. apud. Heraclid. Pontic. p. 441. ed. Gale.

Κρόνον δὲ καὶ Χρόνον λέγεται (ὁ Ζεὺς) διπλὸν εἶς αἰῶνος ἀτελείωτος καὶ ἴσον αἰῶνα. Pseudo-Aristot. de Mundo, c. 7. This treatise is the work of some professed rhetorician of later times, who has given the common opinions of his age in the common language of a common declaimer; and by a strange inconsistency, attributed them to the deep, abstruse, condensed Stagirite.

mutual attraction, which leads to universal harmony, and mutual co-operation, it naturally held the first rank among them. "The self-created mind of the eternal Father," says the Orphic poet, "spread the heavy bond of Love through all things, that they might endure for ever;"¹¹⁷ which heavy bond of love is no other than the ΕΡΩΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΓΟΝΟΣ or mystic Bacchus; to whom the celebration of the mysteries was therefore dedicated.

35. But the mysteries were also dedicated to the female or passive powers of production supposed to be inherent in matter.¹¹⁸ Those of Eleusis were under the protection of Ceres, called by the Greeks ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ; that is, Mother Earth;¹¹⁹ and, though the meaning of her Latin name be not quite so obvious, it is in reality the same; the Roman C being originally the same letter, both in figure and power, as the Greek Γ;¹²⁰ which was often employed as a mere guttural aspirate, especially in the old Æolic dialect, from which the Latin is principally derived. The hissing termination, too, in the S belonged to the same: wherefore the word, which the Attics and Ionians wrote ΕΡΑ, ΕΡΕ, or ΗΡΗ, would naturally be written ΓΕΡΕΣ by the old Æolics; the Greeks always accommodating their orthography to their pronunciation; and not, like the English and French, encumbering their words with a number of useless letters.

36. Ceres, however, was not a personification of the brute matter which composed the earth, but of the passive productive principle supposed to pervade it;¹²¹ which, joined to the active, was held to be the cause of the organization and animation of its substance; from whence arose her other Greek name ΔΗΩ, the *Inventress*. She is mentioned by Virgil, as the Wife of the omnipotent Father, Æther or Jupiter;¹²² and therefore the same with Juno; who is usually honored with that title; and whose Greek name ΗΡΗ signifies, as before observed, precisely the same.¹²³ The Latin name JUNO is derived from the Greek name ΔΙΩΝΗ, the female ZEYΣ or ΔΙΣ; the Etruscan, through which the Latin received much of its orthography, having no D nor O in its alphabet. The ancient Germans worshipped the same goddess under the name of Hertha;¹²⁴ the form and meaning of which still remain in our word, Earth. Her fecundation by the descent of the active spirit, as described in the passage of Virgil before cited, is most distinctly represented in an ancient bronze at Strawberry Hill. As the personified principle of the productive power of the Earth, she naturally became the patroness of agriculture; and thus the inventress and tutelary deity of legislation and social order, which first arose out of the division, appropriation, and cultivation of the soil.

37. The Greek title seems originally to have had a more general signification: for without the aspirate (which was anciently added and omitted almost arbitrarily) it becomes ΕΡΕ; and, by an abbreviation very common in the Greek tongue, ΕΡ or ΠΕΕ; which, pronounced with the broad termination of some dialects, become ΠΕΑ; and with the hissing one of others, ΠΕΣ or ΡΕΣ; a word retained in the Latin, signifying properly matter, and figuratively, every quality and modification that can belong to it. The Greek has no word of such comprehensive meaning; the old general term being, in the refinement of their language, rendered more specific, and appropriated to that principal mass of matter, which forms the terraqueous globe; and which the Latins also expressed by the same word united to the Greek article τη ερα—TERRA.

38. The ancient word, with its original meaning, was however retained by the Greeks in the personification of it: Rhea, the first of the goddesses, signifying universal matter, and being thence

¹¹⁷ Ἔργα νοησας γὰρ πατρικὸς νοὸς αὐτογενέλης
Πασὶν ἐκσπείριν ἔσμον περιβριθὴ ἐρωτά.
Ὄφρα τὰ πάντα μινὶ χρονον εὖ σπείραντον ἐρωτά.

Fragm. Orphic. No. xxxviii. ed. Gesn.

A fragment of Empedocles preserved by Athenagoras may serve as a comment upon these Orphic verses. Speaking of the elements which compose the world, he enumerates,

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ ἡερὸς ἥτιον ὕψος,
Καὶ φέλιγ μετὰ τοῖσιν.

¹¹⁸ Ἡ γὰρ ὕλη λόγον ἔχει πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα μητέρα (ὡς φησι Πλάτων) καὶ τεθνηυῖς ὕλη δὲ παν ἐξ οὗ συστάσθαι ἔχει γεννυμένων.
Platarch. Symposiac. lib. ii. qu. 3.

¹¹⁹ —Ταύτην παρακλησάτω Δήμητρα καλὴν, βραχὺ μετασθίσης, δαί τον χρόνον, τῆς λείψας τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομαζέσθαι, γῆν μητέρα. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. s. 12.

Μήτηρ μεγίστη δαίμωνιν Ὀλυμπίων
ἀρίστα, Γῆ μέλαινα.

Solon. in Brunck. Analect. vol. i. xxiv.

Δημιῆτορ πάρα τὸ γῆ καὶ τὸ μητέρα, γῆ μητέρα. Etymol. Magn. See also Lucret. lib. v. v. 796.

¹²⁰ See Senatus-consultum Marcianum, and the coins of Gela, Agrigentum, and Rhegium.

¹²¹ Officium commune Ceres et Terra tuetur;

Hæc præbet causam frugibus, illa locum. Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 673.

¹²² Tum pater omnipotens, fecundis imbribus Æther

Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes

Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus. Georg. ii. 324.

¹²³ Ἡ γῆ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ Ἥρα. Plutarch. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. c. i.

¹²⁴ Tacit. de Mor. Germanor.

said, in the figurative language of the poets, to be the mother of Jupiter, who was begotten upon her by Time. In the same figurative language, Time is said to be the son of Οὐρανός, or Heaven; that is, of the supreme termination and boundary, which appears to have been originally called κοῖλον, the hollow or vault; which the Latins retained in their word CÆLUM, sometimes employed to signify the pervading Spirit, that fills and animates it. Hence Varro says that Cœlum and Terra; that is, *universal mind and productive body*; were the great gods of the Samothracian mysteries; and the same as the Serapis and Isis of the later Ægyptians; the Taantes and Astartè of the Phœnicians; and the Saturn and Ops of the Latians.¹²⁵ The licentious imaginations of the poets gave a progenitor even to the personification of the supreme boundary οὐρανός; which progenitor they called ΑΚΜΩΝ, the *indefatigable*; ¹²⁶ a title by which they seem to have meant perpetual motion, the primary attribute of the primary Being.¹²⁷

39. The allegory of Κρόνος or Saturn devouring his own children seems to allude to the rapid succession of creation and destruction before the world had acquired a permanent constitution; after which Time only swallowed the stone: that is, exerted its destroying influence upon brute matter; the generative spirit, or vital principle of order and renovation, being beyond its reach. In conjunction with the Earth, he is said to have cut off the genitals of his father, Heaven;¹²⁸ an allegory, which evidently signifies that Time, in operating upon Matter, exhausted the generative powers of Heaven; so that no new beings were created.

40. The notion of the supreme Being having parents, though employed by the poets to embellish their wild theogonies, seems to have arisen from the excessive refinement of metaphysical theology: a Being purely mental and absolutely immaterial, having no sensible quality, such as form, consistence, or extension, can only exist, according to our limited notions of existence, in the modes of his own action, or as a mere abstract principle of motion. These modes of action, being turned into eternal attributes, and personified into distinct personages, Time and Matter, the means of their existing, might, upon the same principle of personification, be turned into the parents of the Being to which they belong. Such refinement may, perhaps, seem inconsistent with the simplicity of the early ages: but we shall find, by tracing them to their source, that many of the gross fictions, which exercised the credulity of the vulgar Heathens, sprang from abstruse philosophy conveyed in figurative and mysterious expressions.

41. The elements Fire and Water were supposed to be those, in which the active and passive productive powers of the universe respectively existed;¹²⁹ since nothing appeared to be produced without them; and wherever they were joined there was production of some sort, either vegetable or animal. Hence they were employed as the primary symbols of these powers on numberless occasions. Among the Romans, a part of the ceremony of marriage consisted in the bride's touching them, as a form of consecration to the duties of that state of life, upon which she was entering.¹³⁰ Their sentence of banishment, too, was an interdiction from fire and water; which implied an exclusion from any participation in those elements, to which all organised and animated beings owed their existence. Numa is said to have consecrated the perpetual fire, as the first of all things, and the soul of matter; which, without it, is motionless and dead.¹³¹ Fires of the same kind were, for the same reasons, preserved in most of the principal temples both Greek and Barbarian; there being scarcely a country in the world, where some traces of the adoration paid to it are not to be found.¹³² The prytaneia of the Greek cities, in which the supreme councils were usually held, and the public treasures kept, were so called from the sacred fires always preserved in them. Even common fires were reputed holy by them; and therefore carefully preserved from all contagion of

¹²⁵ De Lingua Latina, lib. iv. s. 10.

¹²⁶ Ακαμάτος, ακαμνών, ακμων, &c.

¹²⁷ See Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. 1.

¹²⁸ Hesiod. Theog. 160.

¹²⁹ Quippe ubi temperiem sumpserunt humorque calorque,

Ovid. Met. i. 430.

Concipiunt: et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus.

Ζηνιστάται μιν οὐν τὰ ζῶα, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπὸ ζῆνις διαφορῶν μιν τὴν ζῶαν, συμφορῶν δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν πυρός λεγὼν καὶ ὕδατος. Hippocrat. Diet. i. 4.

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ δύναται πάντα διὰ παντός κινεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πάντα διὰ παντός βρεῖν.—τὸ μὲν οὐν πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνταρκεῖα ἐστὶ πάντι διὰ παντός ἐς τὸ μικρόν καὶ τὸ ἐλακιστόν ὥσαντες. Hippocrat. Diet. i. 4.

Εἰσπῆσι δ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴν, πῦρος καὶ ὕδατος συγκρῆσιν ἔχουσα, μοῖραν σωματός ἀνθρώπου. Ib. s. 8.

Τούτο πάντα διὰ παντός κυβερνᾷ, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ κίνα, οὐδέποτε ἀτρεμίζον (τὸ πῦρ). Ib. s. 11.

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδατος πάντα ζῆνιστάται, καὶ ζῶα καὶ φῦτα, καὶ ὑπο τοῦτων αὐξάνει, καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διακρίνεται. Ib. l. ii. s. 31.

¹³⁰ Διὰ τὴν γαμινόμενῃ ἀντισθῆναι πῦρος καὶ ὕδατος κλεινοῦσαι; ποτερον τοῦτων ὥς ἐν στομαχίῳ καὶ ἀρχαίς, τὸ ἀρρεν ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαίς κινῆσθαι ἐνέρει, τὸ δὲ ὑποκείμενον καὶ ὅλης δυνάμει. Plutarch. Qu. Rom. sub. init.

¹³¹ Ὡς ἀρχὴν ἅπαντων—τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς ὅλης μορῆς, θερμοῦς ἐπιλειτούσης, ἀργὰ κίμην καὶ νικραὶς ἰοκιστά, πύθῃ τὴν πῦρος δύναμιν ὡς ψυχὴν. Plutarch. in Numa.

¹³² Huet. Demonstr. Evang. Præp. iv. c. 5. Laftau Mœurs des Sauvages, t. i. p. 153.

impiety. After the battle of Platæa, they extinguished all that remained in the countries which had been occupied by the Persians, and rekindled them, according to the direction of the Oracle, with consecrated fire from the altar at Delphi.¹³³ A similar prejudice still prevails among the native Irish; who annually extinguish their fires, and rekindle them from a sacred bonfire.¹³⁴ Perpetual lamps are kept burning in the inmost recesses of all the great pagodas in India; the Hindoos holding fire to be the essence of all active power in nature. At Sais in Ægypt, there was an annual religious festival called the Burning of Lamps;¹³⁵ and lamps were frequently employed as symbols upon coins by the Greeks;¹³⁶ who also kept them burning in tombs, and sometimes swore by them, as by known emblems of the Deity.¹³⁷ The torch held erect, as it was by the statue of Bacchus at Eleusis,¹³⁸ and as it is by other figures of him still extant, means life; while its being reversed, as it frequently is upon sepulchral urns and other monuments of the kind, invariably signifies death or extinction.¹³⁹

42. Though water was thought to be the principle of the passive, as fire was of the active power; yet, both being esteemed unproductive when separate,¹⁴⁰ both were occasionally considered as united in each. Hence Vesta, whose symbol was fire, was held to be, equally with Ceres, a personification of the Earth;¹⁴¹ or rather of the genial heat, which pervades it, to which its productive powers were supposed to be owing; wherefore her temple at Rome was of a circular form, having the sacred fire in the centre, but no statue.¹⁴² She was celebrated by the poets, as the daughter of Rhea, the sister of Jupiter and Juno, and the first of the goddesses.¹⁴³ As the principle of universal order, she presided over the prytæcia or magisterial seats; and was therefore the same as Themis, the direct personification of that attribute, and the guardian of all assemblies, both public and private, both of men and gods;¹⁴⁴ whence all legislation was derived from Ceres, a more general personification including the same powers. The universal mother of the Phrygians and Syrians, called by the Greeks Cybelé, because represented under a globular or square form,¹⁴⁵ was the same more general personification worshipped with different rites, and exhibited under different symbols, according to the different dispositions and ideas of different nations. She was afterwards represented under the form of a large handsome woman, with her head crowned with turrets; and very generally adopted as the local tutelary deity of particular cities: but we have never seen any figure of this kind, which was not proved, by the style of composition and workmanship, to be either posterior, or very little anterior, to the Macedonian conquest.¹⁴⁶

43. The characteristic attribute of the passive generative power was expressed in symbolical writing, by different enigmatical representations of the most distinctive characteristic of the sex; such as the shell, called the Concha Veneris,¹⁴⁷ the Fig-leaf,¹⁴⁸ Barley Corn,¹⁴⁹ or the letter Delta;¹⁵⁰ all which occur very frequently, upon coins, and other ancient monuments, in this sense. The same

¹³³ Plutarch. in Aristid.

¹³⁴ Collect. Hibern. No. v. p. 64.

¹³⁵ Λυχνόμασι. Herodot. lib. ii. 62.

¹³⁶ See coins of Amphipolis, Alexander the Great, &c.

¹³⁷

Λυχνε, σε γὰρ παρῶσα τρεῖς ὁμοῖον Ἦρακλεια,

Ἦξουν.—

Asclepiad. Epigr. xxv. in Brunck. Analect. vol. i. p. 216.

¹³⁸ Pausan. in l. c.

¹³⁹ See Portland vase, &c. Polynices infers his own approaching death from seeing in a vision

Conjugis Argivæ lacera cum lampade moestam

Effigiem.

Stat. Theb. xi. 142.

¹⁴⁰ Το πυρ χωρὶς ὕδατος ἀσφραγὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἔρηρον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀνυθιμοτάτος ἀγνοῦν καὶ ἄργον. Plutarch. Qu. Rom. sub init.

¹⁴¹ Ἑσπερία Ἔ' (ἡ Διμήτηρ καὶ ἡ Ἑσπία) κοικεῖν οὐχ' ἴτερά της γῆς ἐναί. Phurnut. de Nat. Deot. c. 28.

Vesta eadem est que Terra; subest vigil ignis utrique. Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. v. 267.

Nec tu aliud Vestam, quam vivam intellige flammam. Ibid. v. 291.

¹⁴² Ovid. ibid. The temple is still extant, converted into a church; and the ruins of another more elegant one, called the Sibyl's temple, at Tivoli.

¹⁴³

Παὶ Ῥεας, ἃ τε Πρωτανία λελογχας, Ἑστία,
Ζηνος ὕψιστον κασιγνήτη καὶ ὁμοθρόνον Ἥρας,
* * * * *

—αγαζόμενοι πρῶταν θεων. Pindar. Nem. xi.

¹⁴⁴

—Θιμω

Καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνοματιῶν μορφὴ μία. Æschyl. Prom. Vincit. 209.

¹⁴⁵ Ἡ Διμήτηρ πόλις ἐστὶ καταρακτιῆ, οἰοῦναι ἢ γῆ. ἔθνη καὶ πυργοφόρον αὐτὴν γράφουσι. λεγεται δὲ καὶ Κυβέλη ἀπο τοῦ κυβικου σχηματος κατὰ γυναικῶν ἢ γῆ. Lex. Antiq. Frag. in Herm. Gramm.

¹⁴⁶ It is most frequent on the coins of the Asiatic colonies; but all that we have seen with it are of late date.

¹⁴⁷ August. de Civ. Dei lib. vi. c. 9.

Κτενε γυναικῶν ὁ ἐστὶν, εὐφρῆναι καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν, μοριον γυναικῶν. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. p. 19.

¹⁴⁸ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 365.

¹⁴⁹ Καὶ ἡ (ἀσφαῖς) τὴ κατὰ τοὺς κομικοὺς αἰδοῖον, ὃ καὶ κριθὴν ἐκείνοι καθ' ὁμοίον λόγον ἐκαλεῖσαν. Eustath. in Homer. p. 134.

Τὸν ὀστρεὸν γένος—Σελήνῃ συμμισησθε. Clem. Alex. Cohort. s. iii.

Shell-fish in general were also thought to sympathise with the Moon.

¹⁵⁰ Δελτα. τὸ τέταρτον στοιχείον σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ γυναικῶν αἶδον. Suidas.

attribute, personified as the goddess of love or desire, is usually represented under the voluptuous form of a beautiful woman, frequently distinguished by one of these symbols, and called Venus, Cypris, or Aphroditè, names of rather uncertain etymology.¹⁵¹ She is said to be the daughter of Jupiter and Dione; that is, of the male and female personifications of the all-pervading spirit of the universe; Dione being, as before explained, the female ΔΙΣ or ZEYΣ, and therefore associated with him in the most ancient oracular temple of Greece at Dodona.¹⁵² No other genealogy appears to have been known in the Homeric times; though a different one is employed to account for the name of Aphroditè in the theogony attributed to Hesiod.

44. The Γενετυλλίδες or Γενάιδαι were the original and appropriate ministers and companions of Venus;¹⁵³ who was however afterwards attended by the Graces, the proper and original attendants of Juno;¹⁵⁴ but as both these goddesses were occasionally united and represented in one image,¹⁵⁵ the personifications of their respective subordinate attributes might naturally be changed. Other attributes were on other occasions added; whence the symbolical statue of Venus at Paphos had a beard, and other appearances of virility;¹⁵⁶ which seems to have been the most ancient mode of representing the celestial, as distinguished from the popular goddess of that name; the one being a personification of a general procreative power, and the other only of animal desire or concupiscence. The refinement of Grecian art, however, when advanced to maturity, contrived more elegant modes of distinguishing them; and, in a celebrated work of Phidias, we find the former represented with her foot upon a tortoise, and in a no less celebrated one of Scopas, the latter sitting upon a goat.¹⁵⁷ The tortoise, being an androgynous animal, was aptly chosen as a symbol of the double power; and the goat was equally appropriate to what was meant to be expressed in the other.

45. The same attribute was on other occasions signified by the dove or pigeon,¹⁵⁸ by the sparrow,¹⁵⁹ and perhaps by the polypus; which often appears upon coins with the head of the goddess, and which was accounted an aphrodisiac;¹⁶⁰ though it is likewise of the androgynous class. The fig was a still more common symbol; the statues of Priapus being made of the tree,¹⁶¹ and the fruit being carried with the phallus in the ancient processions in honor of Bacchus;¹⁶² and still continuing, among the common people of Italy, to be an emblem of what it anciently meant: whence we often see portraits of persons of that country painted with it in one hand, to signify their orthodox devotion to the fair sex.¹⁶³ Hence, also, arose the Italian expression *far la figa*; which was done by putting the thumb between the middle and fore fingers, as it appears in many priapic ornaments now extant; or by putting the finger or the thumb into the corner of the mouth, and drawing it down; of which there is a representation in a small priapic figure of exquisite sculpture engraved among the antiquities of Herculaneum.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵¹ The first may be from the verb BEINEIN; Suidas explaining BEINOΣ or BINOΣ to be the name of a goddess; and the name VENUS only differs from it in a well-known variation of dialect.

The second may be from κυπριος, i. e. κειν παριζωσα, though the theogonists derive it from the island of Cyprus. Schol. Vet. in Il. ε. 458. Hesiod. Theogon.

The third is commonly derived from αφρος the foam of the sea, from which she is fabled to have sprung: but the name appears to be older than the fable, and may have been received from some other language.

¹⁵² Σύννορος τη Διι προστελεχθη και η Διώνη. Strabo lib. viii. p. 506.

¹⁵³ Pausan. lib. i. c. i. s. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Il. ε. 267.

Το δε σῆμα της Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνου καθέται μετὰ μεγά, χρύσει μιν καὶ ἐλεφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἐπιστὶ δὲ οἱ στήθεας χερσὶν ἔχον καὶ Ἥρας ἐπιγρασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, τῇ μιν καρπὸν φέρει ροαε, τῇ δὲ σκεπτῶν. Τα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ροαὴν (ἀπο-
ριστοτέρως γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος) ἀφίσθω μοι. Pausan. in Cor. c. 17. s. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ἰουονον δὲ ὀρχαίων καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἥρας. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 13. s. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Signum etiam ejus (Veneris) est Cypri barbatus corpore, sed veste muliebri, cum sceptro et statua viri. Macroh. lib. iii. p. 74.

¹⁵⁷ Τῇ μιν ἐν τῇ ναυὶ καλοῦσιν οὐρανια· ἐλεφαντος δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ χρύσει, τέχνη Φειδίου, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρῃ ποδὶ ἐπὶ χελώνης βεβήκει—
καὶ—σῆμα Ἀφροδίτης χάλκον ἐπὶ τραγῇ καθέται χάλκῃ. Σκοπὰ τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ Πανδίωνι ονομαζούσῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ χελώνῃ
τε καὶ ἐς τὸν τραγὸν περικεῖται τοὺς θελοῦσιν ἰκαίειν. Pausan. Eliac. ii. c. 25. s. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Ἑλλήνης—νομίζουσιν ἱκανὸν Ἀφροδίτης ζῶον εἶναι τὴν περιστῆραν, καὶ τὸν ἐρακοντα τῆς Ἀθήνης, καὶ τὸν κορακα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος,
καὶ τὸν κυνα τῆς Ἀρτιμίδος. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

¹⁵⁹ Ἡ δὲ σπρωθὶς ἀναίσταται μιν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ διὰ τὸ πολυγονοῦν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ θυμὸν ἐς μέγαν· ἡ δὲ λογὴ καὶ ἡ περιστέρα οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τῇ
τοῦ μύθου Ἀφροδίτῃ. Eustath. in Homer. p. 226. σπρωθὺς—ἡ πολλὰ μιν ἀθέως οὐκ αἰσθάνεται αὐτῇ· Τερψιχλὴς δὲ τις καὶ τοὺς
ἐμπαγοντας αὐτῶν, καταφόρους λέγει πρὸς τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτῃν γίνεσθαι. Id. in Od. A. p. 1411. l. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Athenae. Deipnosp. lib. ii. c. 23.

¹⁶¹ Horat. Sat. I. i. Sat. viii. v. 1.

¹⁶² Ἡ πατρις τῶν Διονυσίων ἰσότη τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμπεπτο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς, ἀμόρφους οἶνον καὶ κλημάτας, ἐπὶ τραγῶν τις εἰλεῖν,
ὅλλος ἰσχυρὸν ἀρρεχὸν πελοῦσθαι κομίζων, ἐπὶ πασι δὲ ὁ φύλλος. Plutarch. περὶ Φιλιστλ. 4.

¹⁶³ See portrait of Tassoni prefixed to the 4to. edition of the Secchia Rapita, &c.

¹⁶⁴ Bronzi, tab. xciv.

It is to these obscene gestures that the expressions of *figging* and *biting the thumb*, which Shakespeare probably took from translations of Italian novels, seem to allude; see 1 Henry IV. act v. sc. 3.; and Romeo and Juliet, act i. sc. 1. Another old writer, who probably understood Italian, calls the latter *giving the fig*; and, according to its ancient meaning, it might very naturally be employed as a silent reproach of effeminacy.

46. The key, which is still worn, with the priapic hand, as an amulet, by the women of Italy, appears to have been an emblem of similar meaning, as the equivocal use of the name of it, in the language of that country, implies. Of the same kind, too, appears to have been the cross in the form of the letter T, attached to a circle, which many of the figures of Ægyptian deities both male and female carry in the left hand, and by which the Syrians, Phœnicians, and other inhabitants of Asia, represented the planet Venus, worshipped by them as the natural emblem or image of that goddess.¹⁶⁵ The cross in this form is sometimes observable on coins; and several of them were found in a temple of Serapis, demolished at the general destruction of those edifices by the emperor Theodosius; and were said, by the Christian antiquaries of that time, to signify the future life.¹⁶⁶ In solemn sacrifices all the Lapland idols were marked with it from the blood of the victims;¹⁶⁷ and it occurs on many Runic monuments found in Sweden and Denmark, which are of an age long anterior to the approach of Christianity to those countries; and, probably, to its appearance in the world.¹⁶⁸ On some of the early coins of the Phœnicians, we find it attached to a chaplet of beads placed in a circle; so as to form a complete rosary; such as the lamas of Thibet and China, the Hindoos, and the Roman Catholics, now tell over while they pray.¹⁶⁹

47. Beads were anciently used to reckon time; and a circle, being a line without termination, was the natural emblem of its perpetual continuity; whence we often find circles of beads upon the heads of deities, and enclosing the sacred symbols, upon coins, and other monuments.¹⁷⁰ Perforated beads are also frequently found in tombs, both in the northern and southern parts of Europe and Asia, which are fragments of the chaplets of consecration buried with the deceased. The simple diadem or fillet, worn round the head as a mark of sovereignty, had a similar meaning; and was originally confined to the statues of deities and deified personages, as we find it upon the most ancient coins. Chryses, the priest of Apollo, in the Iliad, brings the diadem or sacred fillet of the god upon his sceptre, as the most imposing and inviolable emblem of sanctity: but no mention is made of its being worn by kings in either of the Homeric poems; nor of any other ensign of temporal power and command, except the royal staff or sceptre.

48. The myrtle was a symbol both of Venus and Neptune, the male and female personifications of the productive powers of the waters, which appears to have been occasionally employed in the same sense as the fig and fig-leaf;¹⁷¹ but upon what account, it is not easy to guess. Grains of barley may have been adopted from the stimulating and intoxicating quality of the liquor extracted from them;¹⁷² or, more probably, from a fancied resemblance to the object, which is much heightened in the representations of them upon some coins, where they are employed as accessory symbols in the same manner as fig-leaves are upon others.¹⁷³ Barley was also thrown upon the altar with salt, the symbol of the preserving power, at the beginning of every sacrifice, and thence denominated *ουλονυραι*.¹⁷⁴ The thighs of the victim, too, were sacrificed in preference to every other part, on account of the generative attribute; of which they were supposed to be the seat:¹⁷⁵ whence, probably, arose the fable of Bacchus being nourished and matured in the thigh of Jupiter.

49. Instead of beads, wreaths of foliage, generally of laurel, olive, myrtle, ivy, or oak, appear upon coins; sometimes encircling the symbolical figures, and sometimes as chaplets on their heads. All these were sacred to some particular personifications of the deity, and significant of some particular attributes, and, in general, all evergreens were dionysiac plants;¹⁷⁶ that is, symbols of the generative power, signifying perpetuity of youth and vigour; as the circles of beads and diadems signified perpetuity of existence. Hence the crowns of laurel, olive, &c. with which the victors in

¹⁶⁵ Procli Paraphr. Ptolem. lib. ii. p. 97. See also Mich. Ang. De la Chausse, Part ii. No. xxxvi. fol. 62. and Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib. ii. c. vii. s. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Suidas in *v. τειρας*.

¹⁶⁷ Sheffer. Lapponie. c. x. p. 112.

¹⁶⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. 11. c. xi. p. 662. and p. 111. c. i. s. 111. Ol. Varelil Scandagr. Runic. Borlase Hist. of Cornwall, p. 106.

¹⁶⁹ Pollerin. Villes. T. iii. pl. cxxii. fig. 4. Archæol. Vol. xiv. pl. 2. Nichoff. s. ix. Maurice Indian Antiquities, Vol. v.

¹⁷⁰ See coins of Syracuse. Lydia.

¹⁷¹ See coins of Syracuse, Marseilles, &c. Schol. in Aristoph. Lysistr. 647.

¹⁷² *Μεθριμνενται το θριον ποτισμος και κνησις (lege γεννησις vel κυσις) παιτων, και δοκει γεννητικη μορφη την φυσιν οικειναι* Plutarch de Is. et Osir. p. 305.

¹⁷³ *Οτινι δ' εκ κριθων πεπαισμενη διαχρευνεται' ου γαρ σφι εισι εν τη χωρη αρπηλοι.* Herodot. de Ægypt. lib. ii. s. 77.

¹⁷⁴ See coins of Gela, Leontium, Selinus; and Eustath. p. 1400. 28.

¹⁷⁵ Eustath. in Il. A. p. 132 and 3. and in p. 1400. 28.

¹⁷⁶ *Τους μπουους, ως τι τιμιον, ὁλοκαυσουν, εξαιρουντες απο των αλλων του ζωου μετρωι, δια το συντελειν τοις ζωοις εις βασιδι τι και εις γενεαν τη προσει του σπερματος.* Eustath. p. 134.

¹⁷⁷ *φασιν (ὁ Μιγασθινος) ἡμνητας εἶναι του Διονυσου, δικνουτας τεκμηρια, την αγριαν αρπηλον, — και κιστον, και διαφνην, και μυρρινην, και πυξον, και αλλα των αυθαλων.* Strabo lib. xv. p. 711.

the Roman triumphs and Grecian games were honored, may properly be considered as emblems of consecration to immortality, and not as mere transitory marks of occasional distinction. In the same sense, they were worn in all sacrifices and feasts in honor of the gods; whence we find it observed by one of the guests at an entertainment of this kind, that the host, by giving crowns of flowers instead of laurel, not only introduced an innovation, but made the wearing of them a matter of luxury instead of devotion.¹⁷⁷ It was also customary, when any poems sacred to the deity, such as those of a dramatic kind, were recited at private tables, for the person reciting to hold a branch of myrtle or laurel in his hand,¹⁷⁸ to signify that he was performing an act of devotion, as well as of amusement.

50. The Scandinavian goddess Freya had, like the Paphian Venus, the characteristics of both sexes;¹⁷⁹ and it seems probable that the fable of the Amazons arose from some symbolical composition; upon which the Greek poets engrafted, as they usually did, a variety of amusing fictions. The two passages in the Iliad, in which they are slightly mentioned, appear to us to be interpolations;¹⁸⁰ and of the tales which have been circulated in later times concerning them, there is no trace in either of the Homeric poems, though so intimately connected with the subjects of both. There were five figures of Amazons in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the rival works of five of the most eminent Greek sculptors;¹⁸¹ and notwithstanding the contradictory stories of their having placed the ancient statue of the goddess, and been suppliants at her altar,¹⁸² we suspect that they were among her symbolical attendants; or personifications of her subordinate attributes. In the great sculptured caverns of the island of Elephanta near Bombay, there is a figure, evidently symbolical, with a large prominent female breast on the left side, and none on the right; a peculiarity, which is said to have distinguished the Amazons, and given them their Greek name; the growth of the right breast having been artificially prevented, that they might have the free use of that arm in war. This figure has four arms; and, of those on the right side, one holds up a serpent, and the other rests upon the head of a bull; while, of those on the left, one holds up a small buckler, and the other, something which cannot be ascertained.¹⁸³ It is probable that, by giving the full prominent form of the female breast on one side, and the flat form of the male on the other, the artist meant to express the union of the two sexes in this emblematical composition; which seems to have represented some great deity of the people, who wrought these stupendous caverns; and which, probably, furnished the Greeks with their first notion of an Amazon. Hippocrates however states that the right breast of the Sarmatian women was destroyed in their infancy, to qualify them for war, in which they served on horseback; and none was qualified to be a wife, till she had slain three enemies.¹⁸⁴ This might have been the foundation of some of the fables concerning a nation of female warriors. The fine figure, nevertheless, of an Amazon in Lansdowne House, probably an ancient copy of one of those above mentioned, shows that the deformity of the one breast was avoided by their great artists, though the androgynous character is strongly marked throughout, in the countenance, limbs, and body. On gems, figures of Amazons, overcome by Hercules, Theseus, or Achilles, are frequent; but we have never observed any such compositions upon coins.

51. This character of the double sex, or active and passive powers combined, seems to have been sometimes signified by the large aquatic snail or buccinum; an androgynous animal, which we often find on the mystic monuments of the Greeks,¹⁸⁵ and of which the shell is represented radiated in the hands of several Hindoo idols,¹⁸⁶ to signify fire and water, the principles from which this double power in nature sprang. The tortoise is, however, a more frequent symbol of this attribute; though it might also have signified another: for, like the serpent, it is extremely tenacious of life; every limb and muscle retaining its sensibility long after its separation from the body.¹⁸⁷ It might, therefore, have meant immortality, as well as the double sex: and we accordingly find it placed under the feet of many deities, such as Apollo, Mercury, and Venus;¹⁸⁸ and also serving as a foundation or support to tripods, pateras, and other symbolical utensils employed in religious rites. Hence, in the figurative language of the poets and theologists, it might have been properly called the *support of the Deity*; a mode of expression, which probably gave rise to the absurd fable of the world being

¹⁷⁷ Τον στέφανον ἥδονος ποιῶν, οὐκ ἐνισβύειας. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii. probl. xx.

¹⁷⁸ Aristoph. Neph. 1364, et Schol.

¹⁷⁹ Mallet Hist. de Danemarck. Introd. c. vii. p. 116.

¹⁸⁰ Γ. 188 and 9, and Z. 186.

¹⁸¹ Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. viii.

¹⁸² Pausan. lib. iv. c. 31. and lib. vii. c. 2.

¹⁸³ Niebuhr Voyages, T. ii. tab. vi.

¹⁸⁴ Περὶ αἰσ. κ. τ. λ. s. xliii.

¹⁸⁵ See silver coins of Panormus and Segesta, and brass of Agrigentum in Sicily.

¹⁸⁶ See Sonnerat's, and other collections of Hindoo Idols.

¹⁸⁷ Elian. de Nat. Animal. lib. iv. c. xxviii.

¹⁸⁸ Τῶν ἡλείων ὁ Φιδίας Ἀφροδίτῃν ἐπαύσαι χελώνῃν παύσαν, οἰκουρίας συμβόλον, ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ αἰῶνι. Plutarch. Conj. Priap. 138.

The reason assigned is to serve the purpose of the author's own moral argument; and is contradicted by the other instances of the use of the symbol.

supported on the back of a tortoise; which is still current among the Chinese and Hindoos, and to be traced even among the savages of North America.¹⁹⁹ The Chinese have, indeed, combined the tortoise with a sort of flying serpent or dragon; and thus made a composite symbol expressive of many attributes.¹⁹⁹

52. At Momemphis in Ægypt, a sacred cow was the symbol of Venus,¹⁹¹ as the sacred bull Mnevis and Apis were of the male personifications at Heliopolis and Memphis. The Phenicians employed the same emblem:¹⁹² whence the Cadmeians are said to have been conducted to the place of their settlement in Boeotia by a cow; which pointed out the spot for building the Cadmeion or citadel of Thebes, by lying down to rest upon it.¹⁹³ This cow was probably no other than the symbolical image of their deity, which was borne before them, till fixed in the place chosen for their residence; to which it gave the name of Thebes; *Thebah* in the Syrian language signifying a cow.¹⁹⁴ Hence we may perceive the origin of the fable of Bacchus being born at Thebes: for that city, being called by the same name as the symbol of nature, was easily confounded with it by the poets and mythologists; by which means the generator Bacchus, the first-begotten *Love*, and primary emanation of the all-pervading Spirit, became a deified mortal, the son of a Cadmeian damsel.

53. The cow is still revered as a sacred symbol of the deity, by the inhabitants of the gold-coast of Africa;¹⁹⁵ and more particularly by the Hindoos; among whom there is scarcely a temple without the image of one; and where the attribute expressed by it so far corresponds with that of the Grecian goddess Venus, as to be reputed the mother of the God of Love. It is also frequently found upon ancient Greek coins;¹⁹⁶ though we do not find that any public worship was ever paid it by that people: but it appears to have been held sacred by all the African tribes adjoining Ægypt, as far as the Tritonian Lake;¹⁹⁷ among whom the Greek colonies of Barcè and Cyrenè were settled at an early period. In the Scandinavian mythology, the sun was fabled to recruit his strength during winter by sucking the white cow Adumbla, the symbol of the productive power of the earth, said to have been the primary result of warmth operating upon ice, which the ancient nations of the north held to be the source of all organised being.¹⁹⁸ On the Greek coins, the cow is most commonly represented suckling a calf or young bull;¹⁹⁹ who is the mystic god Epaphus, the Apis of the Ægyptians, fabled by the Greeks to have been the son of Jupiter and Io.²⁰⁰

54. As men improved in the practice of the imitative arts, they gradually changed the animal, for the human form; preserving still the characteristic features, which marked its symbolical meaning. Of this, the most ancient specimens now extant are the heads of Venus or Isis, (for they were in many respects the same personification,) upon the capitals of one of the temples of Philæ, an island in the Nile between Ægypt and Æthiopia: and in these we find the horns and ears of the cow joined to the beautiful features of a woman in the prime of life.²⁰¹ In the same manner the Greek sculptors of the finest ages of the art represented Io;²⁰² who was the same goddess confounded with an historical or poetical personage by the licentious imaginations of the Greek mythologists; as we shall further show in the sequel. Her name seems to have come from the north; there being no obvious etymology for it in the Greek tongue: but, in the ancient Gothic and Scandinavian, Io and Gio signified the earth; as Isi and Isa signified ice, or water in its primordial state; and both were equally titles of the goddess, that represented the productive and nutritive power of the earth; and, therefore, may afford a more probable etymology for the name Isis, than any that has hitherto been given.²⁰³ The god or goddess of Nature is however called Isa in the

¹⁹⁹ Lafait Meurs des Sauvages, t. i. p. 99.

¹⁹⁹ Kircher. China illustrata, p. 187, col. 2.

¹⁹¹ Οί δε Μυμηφίται την Αφροδίτην τιμῶσι, καὶ τριφεῖται θήλια βουὸς ἱερά, καθ' ἣν ἐν Μυμφί ὁ Ἀπὶς, ἐν Ἠλίῳ δὲ πόλις ὁ Μνεvis. Strabo. lib. xvii. p. 803. See also eund. p. 807. and Ælian. de Anim. lib. x. c. 27.

¹⁹² Porphyre. de Abstin. lib. ii. pp. 120. 212.

¹⁹³ Pausan. lib. ix. c. 12. Schol. in Aristoph. Βατραχ. 1256. Ovid. Metamorph. lib. iii. in init.

¹⁹⁴ Θηβαὶ γὰρ ἡ βουὸς κατὰ Συρούς. Schol. in Lycophr. v. 1206. See also Etymol. Magn.

¹⁹⁵ Hist. gén. des Voyages, t. iii. p. 392.

¹⁹⁶ See those of Dyrrachium, Coreya, &c.

¹⁹⁷ Μίχρη τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Ἀφροδίτης νομάδες εἰσι κροφαῖοι καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λιβύης' καὶ θήλων τι βουὸν οὐ τι γινομένοι, διαστὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους. Herodot. lib. iv. c. 186.

¹⁹⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. 11. c. v. p. 235-253. &c. vi. p. 455.

¹⁹⁹ See those of Dyrrachium and Parium.

²⁰⁰ Euripid. Phœnix. 688. ed. Porson.

²⁰¹ Ἡ γὰρ ἱεὺς ἐστὶ μὲν τοῦ τῆς φύσεως θήλει, καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσης γενέσεως, καθὼς τὴν καὶ πανδεχέει ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυθολογῶν ἐκλήθη, διὰ τοῦ πάσης ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τρεπομένη μορφῆς δεχίσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 872.

²⁰² Isis junctâ religione celebratur, quæ est vel terra, vel natura rerum Soli subjacens. Macrobi. Sat. I. c. xx.

²⁰³ Norden's Ægypt.

²⁰⁴ Το γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἀγάλμα, ἰὸν γυναικῶν, βουκρίων ἐστὶ, καταπρὶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν Ἰὸν γραφόντων. Herodot. lib. ii. 41.

²⁰⁵ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. I. c. xviii. et xx. p. 854, p. 11. c. v. p. 208-214, 340, et 451.

Edda Snorron. Myth. iv.

Sanscrit;³⁰⁵ and many of the Ægyptian symbols appear to be Indian; but, on the other hand, it seems equally probable that much of the Hindoo mythology, and, as we suspect, all their knowledge of alphabetic writing, as well as the use of money, came from the Greeks through the Bactrian and Parthian empires; the sovereigns of both which appear to have employed the Grecian letters and language in all their public acts.³⁰⁶

55. The Ægyptians, in their hymns to Osiris, invoked that god, *as the being who dwell concealed in the embraces of the Sun*; ³⁰⁷ and several of the ancient Greek writers speak of the great luminary itself as the *generator and nourisher of all things, the ruler of the world, the first of the deities, and the supreme Lord of all mutable or perishable being*.³⁰⁸ Not that they, any more than the Ægyptians, deified the Sun considered merely as a mass of luminous or fervid matter; but as the centre or body, from which the pervading Spirit, the original producer of order, fertility, and organisation, amidst the inert confusion of space and matter, still continued to emanate through the system, to preserve the mighty structure which it had formed.³⁰⁹ This primitive pervading Spirit is said to have made the Sun to guard and govern all things;³¹⁰ it being thought the instrumental cause, through which the powers of reproduction, implanted in matter, continued to exist: for, without a continued emanation from the active principle of generation, the passive, which was derived from it, would of itself become exhausted.

56. This continued emanation, the Greeks personified into two distinct personages; the one representing celestial love, or attraction; and the other, animal love, or desire: to which the Ægyptians added a third, by personifying separately the great fountain of attraction, from which both were derived. All the three were, however, but one; the distinctions arising merely out of the metaphysical subtilty of the theologists, and the licentious allegories of the poets; which have a nearer resemblance to each other, than is generally imagined.

57. This productive æthereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part was in some degree impregnated with it; and therefore every part was, in some measure, the seat of the Deity; whence local gods and goddesses were every where worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. “Thousands of the immortal progeny of Jupiter,” says Hesiod, “inhabit the fertile earth, as guardians to mortal men.”³¹¹ An adequate knowledge, either of the number or attributes of these, the Greeks never presumed to think attainable; but modestly contented themselves with revering and invoking them whenever they felt or wanted their assistance.³¹² If a shipwrecked mariner were cast upon an unknown shore, he immediately offered up his prayers to the gods of the country, whoever they were;³¹³ and joined the inhabitants in whatever modes of worship they employed to propitiate them;³¹⁴ concluding that all expressions of gratitude and submission must be pleasing to the Deity; and as for other expressions, he was not acquainted with them; cursing, or invoking the divine wrath to avenge the quarrels of men, being unknown to the public worship of the ancients. The Athenians, indeed, in the fury of their resentment for the insult offered to the

³⁰⁵ Sacontala. There were two goddesses of the name of Isis worshipped in Greece, the one Pelasgian and the other Ægyptian, before the Pantheic Isis of the latter ages.

Εστιν Ισιδος τρεῖς μὲν ὡν τὴν μὲν Πιλασγίαν, τὴν δὲ Ἀργυρτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπωνομαζούσιν· καὶ δύο Σαραπίδος, ἐν Κανὼβι καλουμένην τοῖς ἱεροῖς. Pausan. in Cor. c. iv. s. 7.

³⁰⁶ Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐστλεόντες φορτῶν φασὶν Ἕλληνας τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγωνίᾳ ἀλλὰ ἀντάλλασσασθαι, νομισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστάσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρύσου τε ἀφθονοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι. Pausan. in Lacop. c. xii. s. 3.

³⁰⁷ Εὐ δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις τοῦ Οὐσιρίδος ἀνακαλούνται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις κρυπτομένον τὸν ἥλιον. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

³⁰⁸ Ἦλκε παγγεννητορ. Orph. Fragm. 7. 28.

— τὴν γοῦν πάντα βόσκουσιν φλόγα
αἰεὶσθ' ἀνακτος ἥλιου. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 1424.

οὐ, τὸν πάντων θεῶν

ἔπον προῖον ἄλιον. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 674.

— τὸν κυρίον καὶ ἱγμόνα τῆς νύκτος οὐσίας ἡέσσης. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom.

³⁰⁹ See Plutarch. Qu. Rom. p. 138. & Fragm. Orphic.

³¹⁰ Καὶ φύλας' αὐτὰν ἐνὶ ῥῆτι, κλένται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀσασσιν. Fragm. Orphic. No. xxv. ed. Gesn.

³¹¹ Τρεῖς γὰρ μῦραι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ ποικιλοχόταιρ
Ἀθανάτοι Ζηνοῖς, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἔργα κ. ἡμ. v. 252. See also Max. Tyr. Diss. xiv. s. 8.

³¹² Θεὸν νομίζε καὶ σέβου, ζῆται δὲ μὴ
πλῆνον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τὸ ζῆπεν ἐχέει·
εἰ γ' ἐστίν, εἰ γ' οὐκ ἐστὶν μὴ βούλου μαθεῖν,
ὥς οὐτα τούτων καὶ παρὸν' αἰ σέβου. Philemon. Fragm. incert. No. 5.

Τρεῖς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, οὐ θύλας ἀν μανθάνειν,
ἀσβίους τὸν οὐ θύλοντα μανθάνειν θύλων. Menandr. Fragm. incerta. No. 246.

³¹³ Odys. E. 445.

³¹⁴ Ib. Γ.

mysteries, commanded the priestess to curse Alcibiades: but she had the spirit to refuse; saying, *that she was the priestess of prayers, and not of curses.*²¹³

58. The same liberal and humane spirit still prevails among those nations whose religion is founded in the same principles. "The Siamese," says a traveller of the seventeenth century, "shun disputes, and believe that almost all religions are good."²¹⁶ When the ambassador of Lewis XIV. asked their king, in his master's name, to embrace Christianity, he replied, *that it was strange that the king of France should interest himself so much in an affair which concerned only God; whilst He, whom it did concern, seemed to leave it wholly to our discretion. Had it been agreeable to the Creator that all nations should have had the same form of worship, would it not have been as easy to his Omnipotence to have created all men with the same sentiments and dispositions; and to have inspired them with the same notions of the true Religion, as to endow them with such different tempers and inclinations? Ought they not rather to believe that the true God has as much pleasure in being honored by a variety of forms and ceremonies, as in being praised and glorified by a number of different creatures? Or why should that beauty and variety, so admirable in the natural order of things, be less admirable, or less worthy of the wisdom of God, in the supernatural?*²¹⁷

59. The Hindoos profess exactly the same opinion. "They would readily admit the truth of the Gospel," says a very learned writer, long resident among them, "but they contend that it is perfectly consistent with their Sastras. The Deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times in many parts of this world, and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures: and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others; yet we adore, they say, the same God; to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance."²¹⁸

60. The Chinese sacrifice to the spirits of the air, the mountains, and the rivers; while the emperor himself sacrifices to the sovereign Lord of Heaven; to whom these spirits are subordinate, and from whom they are derived.²¹⁹ The sectaries of Foe have, indeed, surcharged this primitive elementary worship with some of the allegorical fables of their neighbours; but still as their creed, like that of the Greeks and Romans, remains undefined, it admits of no dogmatical theology, and, of course, of no persecution for opinion. Obscene and sanguinary rites have, indeed, been wisely proscribed on many occasions; but still as *actions*, and not as *opinions*.²²⁰ Atheism is said to have been punished with death at Athens: but, nevertheless, it may be reasonably doubted, whether the atheism, against which the citizens of that republic expressed such fury, consisted in a denial of the existence of the gods: for Diagoras, who was obliged to fly for this crime, was accused of revealing and calumniating the doctrines taught in the mysteries;²²¹ and, from the opinions ascribed to Socrates, there is reason to believe that his offence was of the same kind, though he had not been initiated.

61. These two were the only martyrs to religion among the ancient Greeks, except such as were punished for actively violating or insulting the mysteries; the only part of their worship which seems to have possessed any energy: for, as to the popular deities, they were publicly ridiculed and censured with impunity, by those who dared not utter a word against the very populace that worshipped them;²²² and, as to forms and ceremonies of devotion, they were held to be no otherwise important, than as they constituted a part of the civil government of the state; the Pythian priestess having pronounced from the tripod, *that whoever performed the rites of his religion according to the laws of his country, performed them in a manner pleasing to the Deity.*²²³ Hence the Romans made no alterations in the religious institutions of any of the conquered countries; but allowed the inhabitants to be as absurd and extravagant as they pleased; and even to enforce their absurdities and extravagancies, wherever they had any pre-existing laws in their favor. An Egyptian magistrate would put one of his fellow-subjects to death for killing a cat or a monkey;²²⁴ and though the religious fanaticism of the Jews was too sanguinary and violent to be left entirely free from restraint, a chief of the synagogue could order any one of his congregation to be whipped for neglecting or violating any part of the Mosaic Ritual.²²⁵

62. The principle of the system of emanations was, that all things were of one substance; from which they were fashioned, and into which they were again dissolved, by the operation of one plastic

²¹³ Οὐδ' ἄλλας ἐπαρσάβη νομίζετ' αὖτις ἱερεῖς (τῶν Ῥωμαίων), ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ μὴ ἱερεῖα μὴ θύλασσα καταρσάσθαι τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον κλεινόντος· εἴη γὰρ, εὐχῆς, οὐ καθαρὰς, ἱερεῖα γιγνόμεναι. Plutarch. Qu. Rom.

²¹⁶ Journal du Voyage de Siam.

²¹⁷ Voyage de Siam, lib. v.

²¹⁸ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 274.

²¹⁹ Du Halde, vol. i. p. 32.

²²⁰ See the proceedings against the Bacchanalians at Rome. Liv. Hist. xxxix. 9.

²²¹ Διογόρας Ἀθηναῖος ην, ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐκάρχησαν μὲν τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίους μυστήρια, τετυμωρηκαί. Tatian. ad. Græc.

²²² See the Prometheus of Æschylus, and the Plutus and Frogs of Aristophanes, which are full of blasphemies; the former serious, and the latter comic, or rather farcical.

²²³ Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1. c. iii. s. i.

²²⁴ Tertullian. Apol. c. xxiv.

²²⁵ See Acta Apost.

spirit universally diffused and expanded.⁵⁵⁶ The liberal and candid polytheist of ancient Greece and Rome thought, like the modern Hindoo, that all rites of worship and forms of devotion were directed to the same end; though in different modes, and through different channels. "Even they who worship other gods," says the incarnate Deity in an ancient Indian poem, "worship me although they know it not."⁵⁵⁷

63. By this universal expansion of the creative Spirit, every production of earth, water, and air, participated in its essence; which was continually emanating from, and reverting back to its source in various modes and degrees of progression and regression, like water to and from the ocean. Hence not only men, but all animals, and even vegetables, were supposed to be impregnated with some particles of the Divine nature; from which their various qualities and dispositions, as well as their powers of propagation, were thought to be derived. These appeared to be so many different emanations of the Divine power operating in different modes and degrees, according to the nature of the substances with which they were combined: whence the characteristic properties of particular animals and plants were regarded, not only as symbolical representations, but as actual emanations of the supreme Being, consubstantial with his essence, and participating in his attributes.⁵⁵⁸ For this reason, the symbols were treated with greater respect and veneration, than if they had been merely signs and characters of convention; and, in some countries, were even substituted as objects of adoration, instead of the deity, whose attributes they were meant to signify.

64. Such seems to have been the case in Ægypt; where various kinds of animals, and even plants, received divine honors; concerning which, much has been written, both in ancient and modern times, but very little discovered. The Ægyptians themselves would never reveal any thing concerning them, as long as they had any thing to reveal, unless under the usual ties of secrecy; wherefore Herodotus, who was initiated, and consequently understood them, declines entering into the subject, and apologises for the little which the general plan of his work has obliged him to say.⁵⁵⁹ In the time of Diodorus Siculus the priests pretended to have some secret concerning them;⁵⁶⁰ but they probably pretended to more science than they really possessed, in this, as well as in other instances: for Strabo, who was contemporary with Diodorus, and much superior to him in learning, judgment, and sagacity, says that they were mere sacrificers without any knowledge of their ancient philosophy and religion.⁵⁶¹ The symbolical characters, called Hieroglyphics, continued to be esteemed more holy and venerable than the conventional signs for sounds: but, though they pretended to read, and even to write them,⁵⁶² the different explanations which they gave to different travellers, induce us to suspect that it was all imposture; and that the knowledge of the ancient hieroglyphics, and consequently of the symbolical meaning of the sacred animals, perished with their Hierarchy under the Persian and Macedonian kings. We may indeed safely conclude, that all which they told of the extensive conquests and immense empire of Sesostris, &c., was entirely fiction; since Palestine must from its situation have been among the first of those acquisitions; and yet it is evident from the sacred writings, that at no time, from their emigration to their captivity, were the ancient Hebrews subject to the kings of Ægypt; whose vast resources were not derived from foreign conquests,

⁵⁵⁶ Τὸν δὲ πρῶτον φιλοσοφῶσαντων, οἱ πλείστοι τὰς ἐν ἄλλοις εἰδὲς μόνον κηρύττειν ἀρχὰς καὶ πάντων· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται πρῶτον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὗ φθιμῆται τελευταῖον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ὑπομονούσης, τοῖς δὲ παθίαι μεταβάλλουσας, τοῦτο στοιχείον καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν φασὶν καὶ τὸν οὐτὼν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, οὐτὶ γίγνισθαι οὐδὲν αἰσταν, οὐτὶ ἀπολλύνθαι, ὡς τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως αἱ σωζόμεναι. *Aristot. Metaphys. A. μιβ', c. iii.*

οὐκ οὐδὲ τίς ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει, τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τάξεως παύση. *Ibid.*

ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πατριός ἐστι πάντι ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκεν· ἀνέμιμα δὲ φύσις αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀνταρκῆς, ἱερμῶθισα τῆς ἐκ τοῦτο ὑπάρχουσας· διὸ καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κτείνε προχρηθῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐστὶ πάντα θεῶν πλεον, κ. τ. λ. *Pseud. Aristot. de Mundo. c. vi.*

Principio cælum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titanique astra,
Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pœdumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.

Virgil. Æneid. vi. 724.

See also Plutarch. in Rom. p. 76. & Cicero. de Divinat. lib. ii. c. 49.

⁵⁵⁷ Bagvatgeeta.

⁵⁵⁸ Proclus in Theol. lib. i. p. 56 & 7.

⁵⁵⁹ Τὸν δὲ εἰναικεν ἀνέμιμα τὰ ἱερά (θεῖα) καὶ λεγομένη, καταβαίνειν αὐτὴν λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πράγματα, τὰ ἐκ φύσεως μάλιστα ἀπηγγεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέας, ἀναγκαῖα καταλαμβάνομενος ἵκται. *Herodot. l. ii. s. 65.*

⁵⁶⁰ Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἀγυπτίων) ἀπορροῦν τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἐχούσιν. *lib. i. p. 96. ed. Wess.*

⁵⁶¹ Strabo lib. xvii. p. 806.

⁵⁶² See the curious inscription in honor of Ptolemy V, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1803.

but from a river, soil, and climate, which enabled the labor of few to find food for many, and which consequently left an immense surplus of productive labor at the disposal of the state or of its master.²⁵³

65. As early as the second century of Christianity, we find that an entirely new system had been adopted by the Ægyptian priesthood, partly drawn from the writings of Plato and other Greek and oriental sophists, and partly invented among themselves. This they contrived to impose, in many instances, upon Plutarch, Apuleius, and Macrobius, as their ancient creed; and to this Iamblichus attempted to adapt their ancient allegories, and Hermapion and Horapollon, their symbolical sculptures; all which they very readily explain, though their explanations are wholly inconsistent with those given to Herodotus, Diodorus, and Germanicus; which are also equally inconsistent with each other. That the ancient system should have been lost, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the many revolutions and calamities, which the country suffered during the long period that elapsed from the conquest of it by Cambyzes, to that by Augustus. Two mighty monarchs of Persia employed the power of that vast empire to destroy their temples and extinguish their religion; and though the mild and steady government of the first Ptolemies afforded them some relief, yet, by introducing a new language, with new principles of science and new modes of worship, it tended perhaps to obliterate the ancient learning of Ægypt, as much as either the bigotry of their predecessors, or the tyranny of their successors.

66. It is probable, that in Ægypt, as in other countries, zeal and knowledge subsisted in inverse proportions to each other: wherefore those animals and plants, which the learned respected as symbols of Divine Providence acting in particular directions, because they appeared to be impregnated with particular emanations, or endowed with particular properties, might be worshipped with blind adoration by the vulgar, as the real images of the gods. The cruel persecutions of Cambyzes and Ochus must necessarily have swept off a large proportion of the former class: whence this blind adoration probably became general; different cities and districts adopting different animals for their tutelary deities, in the same manner as those of modern Europe put themselves under the protection of different saints; or those of China under that of particular subordinate spirits, supposed to act as mediators and advocates with the supreme God.²⁵⁴

67. From the system of emanations, came the opinion, so prevalent among the ancients, that future events might be predicted by observing the instinctive motions of animals, and more especially those of birds; which, being often inexplicable from any known principles of mental operation, were supposed to proceed from the immediate impulse of the Deity. The skill, foresight, and contrivance, which many of them display in placing and constructing their nests is wholly unaccountable; and others seem to possess a really prophetic spirit, owing to the extreme sensibility of their organs, which enables them to perceive variations in the state of the atmosphere, preceding a change of weather, long before they are perceptible to us.²⁵⁵ The art of interpreting their various flights and actions, seems to have been in repute during the Homeric times; but to have given way, by degrees, to the oracular temples; which naturally acquired pre-eminence by affording a permanent establishment, and a more lucrative trade, to the interpreters and deliverers of predictions.

68. The same ancient system, that produced augury, produced oracles: for the human soul, as an emanation of the Divine Mind, was thought by many to be in its nature prophetic; but to be blunted and obscured by the opaque incumbrance of the body; through which it, however, pierced in fits of ecstasy and enthusiasm; such as were felt by the Pythian priestesses and inspired votaries of Bacchus.²⁵⁶ Hence proceeded the affected madness and assumed extravagance of those votaries; and also the sanctity attributed to wine; which, being the means of their inspiration, was supposed to be the medium of their communion with the deity; to whom it was accordingly poured out upon all solemn occasions, as the pledge of union and bond of faith; whence treaties of alliance and other public covenants were anciently called libations.²⁵⁷ Even drinking it to intoxication, was in some cases an act of devotion;²⁵⁸ and the vine was a favorite symbol of the deity, which seems to have

²⁵³ See Herodot. lib. ii. c. 15.

²⁵⁴ Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 49.

²⁵⁵ Virgil. Georgic. i. 415. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. c. i.

²⁵⁶ Plutarch. de Orac. Defect. p. 432.

Το γὰρ βακχεῖον,
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες, παντικὴν πολλὴν ἐχμ.—
Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ σπιῖ ἐλθῇ πολὺς,
λέγειν τὸ μῆλλον τοὺς μινυροῦσας ποιῇ.

²⁵⁷ ΣΠΟΝΔΑΙ. Π. 8. &c.

²⁵⁸ ——— Δὲ καὶ θεὸς καὶ θαλῖς καὶ μέθας ὑπομαζόν· τὰς μὲν ὅτι διὰ θεὸς οἰνοῦσθαι δύνανται λαμβάνον· τὰς δ' ὅτι θεὸν χάριν πηλίζοντο καὶ σπομαζόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δακτα θαλίαν· τὸ δὲ μέθυον, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, τὸ μετὰ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῇ χρησθῆναι. Seleuc. apud Athenam. Deipn. lib. ii. c. 3.

Πίνειν δ' ἐκ μέθης οὐδαμῶν πρὸς ἐλεγχὸν (ὁ Πλάτων), πλεον ἐν ταῖς ἱερῇταις, τὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον δόντας θεοῦ. Diog. Laert. lib. iii. s. 39.

been generally employed to signify the generative or preserving attribute;⁵⁵⁹ intoxicating liquors being stimulative, and therefore held to be aphrodisiac. The vase is often employed in its stead, to express the same idea, and is usually accompanied by the same accessory symbols.⁵⁶⁰

69. It was for the same reason, probably, that the poppy was consecrated to Ceres, and her statues crowned with it;⁵⁶¹ and that Venus was represented holding the cone of it in one hand, while the other held an apple, and the *πολλος* or modius decorated her head;⁵⁶² for the juice of the poppy is stimulative and intoxicating to a certain degree, though narcotic when taken to excess.

70. By yielding themselves to the guidance of wild imagination, and wholly renouncing common sense, which evidently acted by means of corporeal organs, men hoped to give the celestial faculties of the soul entire liberty, and thus to penetrate the darkness of futurity; in which they often believed themselves successful, by mistaking the disorderly wanderings of a distempered mind, for the ecstatic effusions of supernatural perception. This sort of prophetic enthusiasm was sometimes produced, or at least supposed to be produced, by certain intoxicating exhalations from the earth; as was the case at Delphi; where the design of setting up an oracle was first suggested by the goats being observed to skip about and perform various extravagant gesticulations, as often as they approached a certain fissure in the rock.⁵⁶³ It is said to have been founded by some Hyperboreans; and principally by the bard Olen, a priest and prophet of Apollo;⁵⁶⁴ but women had officiated there as far back as any certain traditions could be traced;⁵⁶⁵ they having, probably, been preferred on account of the natural weakness of the sex, which rendered them more susceptible of enthusiastic delirium; to promote which, all the rites practised before the responses were given, particularly tended.

71. The inspiring exhalation was at first attributed to the Earth only; then to the Earth in conjunction with Neptune or the Sea; and lastly to Apollo or the Sun.⁵⁶⁶ These were, however, only different modifications of one cause, always held to be unalterably the same, though supposed to act, at different times, in different ways and by different means. This cause was Jupiter, the all-pervading spirit of the universe, who had the title of All-prophetic,⁵⁶⁷ because the other deities presiding over oracular temples were merely personifications of his particular modes of action.⁵⁶⁸ The Pelagian, or rather Druidical oracle of Dodona, the most ancient known, immediately belonged to him; the responses having been originally delivered by certain priests, who pretended that they received them from the oaks of the sacred grove;⁵⁶⁹ which, being the largest and strongest vegetable productions of the North, were employed by the Celtic nations as symbols of the supreme God;⁵⁷⁰ whose primary emanation, or operative Spirit, seems to have been signified by the misletoe which

⁵⁵⁹ See coins of Maronea, Soli, Naxos, &c.

⁵⁶⁰ See coins of Thebes, Haliartus, Hipponium, &c.

⁵⁶¹ Cereale papaver. Virg. See coins of Seleucus IV.

⁵⁶² Το μὲν δὲ ἀγάλμα (Ἀφροδίτης) καθήμενον Καναχὸς Σικαννὸς ἐποίησεν. ——— πεποιταὶ δ' ἐκ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀλεφαντὸς φέρονται ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόδιον, τῶν χερῶν δὲ ἔχει τῇ μὲν μίσηνα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα μῆλον. Pausan. in Cor. c. x. s. 4.

Figures holding the poppy in one hand and the patera in the other, are upon the medals of Tarentum and Locri in Italy.

The laurel was also supposed to have a stimulative and intoxicating quality, and therefore the proper symbol for the god of poetry and prophecy. ἡ δάφνη ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμούς. Σοφοκλῆς.

Δάφνην φαγῶν οὐδὲντι πρὶς τὸ στομάχ.

καὶ Ἀνταφρόν.

Δάφνηφαγον φοιβάζεν ἐκ λαμπρῶν σπῆ. Schol. in Hesiod. Theogon. v. 30.

⁵⁶³ Plutarch. de Orac. Defect. p. 434.

⁵⁶⁴ Pausan. lib. x. c. v.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ Pausan. lib. x.

⁵⁶⁷ Πανομήσιος.

⁵⁶⁸ See Pindar. Olymp. viii. 58. Lucan has expressed this ancient mystic dogma in the language of the Stoics; and modified it to their system, according to the usual practice of the Syncretic sects.

Forsan terris inserta regendis

Aëre libratum vacuo quæ sustinet orbem,

Totius pars magna Jovis Cirrheæ per antra

Exit, et ætherio trahitur connexa Tonanti.

Hoc ubi virginæ conceptum est pectore numen,

Humanam feriens animam sonat, oraque vatis

Solvit.

Pharsal. lib. v. ver. 93.

See also Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. c. 1.

⁵⁶⁹ Ζεὺς ἀνὰ Δαδωνῶναι, Πιλασσῆς, τῆλοθε ναίων,

Δαδωνῆς μέδων δυσχεμέρου' ἄμφι δὲ Σάλλοι

Σοὶ ναίωνσ' ὑπόφεται, ἀνιστοπόδες, χαμαίνοναι. Iliad. II. v. 233.

Sophocles has only commented upon Homer.

Ἄ τῶν ορεῶν καὶ χαμαίνωντων ἐγὼ

Σάλλον ἐπὶ λθὼν ἄλσος ἐσγροφάμεν

Πρὸς τῆς πατρίδας καὶ πολυγλώσσου ἔθνος. Trach. 1168.

⁵⁷⁰ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. viii. s. 8.

grow from its bark; and, as it were, emanated from its substance; whence probably came the sanctity attributed to that plant.

72. Such symbols seem once to have been in general use; for among the vulgar, the great preservers of ancient customs, they continued to be so down to the latest periods of Heathenism. "The shepherd," says Maximus Tyrius, "honors Pan by consecrating to him the high fir, and deep cavern, as the husbandman does Bacchus by sticking up the rude trunk of a tree."⁵²¹ Art and refinement gradually humanised these primitive emblems, as well as others; but their original meaning was still preserved in the crowns of oak and fir, which distinguished the statues of Jupiter and Pan, in the same manner as those of other symbolical plants did those of other personifications.⁵²²

73. The sanctity, so generally attributed to groves by the barbarians of the North, seems to have been imperfectly transmitted from them to the Greeks: for the poets, as Strabo observes, call any sacred place a grove, though entirely destitute of trees;⁵²³ so that they must have alluded to these obsolete symbols and modes of worship. The ΣΕΛΛΑΟΙ, the priests of Dodona, mentioned in the Iliad, had disappeared, and been replaced by women long before the time of Herodotus, who relates some absurd tales, which he heard in Ægypt, concerning their having come from that country.⁵²⁴ The more prompt sensibility of the female sex was more susceptible of enthusiastic emotions, and consequently better adapted to the prophetic office, which was to express inspiration rather than convey meaning.

74. Considering the general state of reserve and restraint in which the Grecian women lived, it is astonishing to what an excess of extravagance their religious enthusiasm was carried on certain occasions; particularly in celebrating the orgies of Bacchus. The gravest matrons and proudest princesses suddenly laid aside their decency and their dignity, and ran screaming among the woods and mountains, fantastically dressed or half-naked, with their hair dishevelled and interwoven with ivy or vine, and sometimes with living serpents.⁵²⁵ In this manner they frequently worked themselves up to such a pitch of savage ferocity, as not only to feed upon raw flesh,⁵²⁶ but even to tear living animals to pieces with their teeth, and eat them warm and palpitating.⁵²⁷

75. The enthusiasm of the Greeks was, however, generally of the gay and festive kind; which almost all their religious rites tended to promote.⁵²⁸ Music and wine always accompanied devotion, as tending to exhilarate men's minds, and assimilate them with the Deity; to imitate whom, was to feast and rejoice; to cultivate the elegant and useful arts; and thereby to give and receive happiness.⁵²⁹ Such were most of the religions of antiquity, which were not, like the Ægyptian and Druidical, darkened by the gloom of a jealous hierarchy, which was to be supported by inspiring terror rather than by conciliating affection. Hence it was of old observed, *that the Ægyptian temples were filled with lamentations and those of the Greeks with dances*;⁵³⁰ the sacrifices of the former being chiefly expiatory, as appears from the imprecations on the head of the victim;⁵³¹ and those of the latter almost always propitiatory or gratulatory.⁵³² Wine, which was so much employed in the sacred rites of the Greeks, was held in abomination by the Ægyptians; who gave way to none of those ecstatic raptures of devotion; which produced Bacchanalian phrenzy and oracular prophecy;⁵³³ but which also produced Greek poetry, the parent of all that is sublime and elegant in the works of man. The poetry of Delphi and Dodona does not seem, indeed, to have merited this character: but the sacerdotal bards of the first ages appear to have been the polishers and methodisers

⁵²¹ See *ibid.* p. 79; also *Plin. lib. ii. c. 1.*, and *Tacit. de M. Germ.* Even as late as the eighth century of Christianity, it was enacted by Luitprand, king of the Lombards, that whoever paid any adoration or performed any incantation to a tree should be punished by fine. *Paul. Diacon. de Leg. Longobard.*

⁵²² See heads of Jupiter and Dodona on the coins of Pyrrhus.

⁵²³ *Οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ κοσμοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καλοντοῦσι τὰ ἵσα πάντα κρυπτοῦνται.* *Strab. l. ix. p. 599.* ed. Oxon.

⁵²⁴ *Lib. ii. 54. &c.* His story of the pigeons probably arose from the mystic dove on the head of Dione, the goddess of Dodona.

⁵²⁵ *Plutarch. in Alexandr.* ⁵²⁶ *Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. 636.*, and *Schol.*

⁵²⁷ *Jul. Firmic. c. 14. Clement. Alex. Cohort. p. 11. Arnob. lib. v.*

⁵²⁸ Δοκίς τοῖς σοῖσι δακρυοῖς,
Μη τιμωσα θεοῦς, κραγαῶν
Εὐφροῖν; φῆτοι στοναχῆς,
Ἀλλ' ἐνχαῖς, θανὸς σιβίλλου-
Σ' εἰς ἐναιμεριαν, ὦ παῖ.

Eurip. Electra. 193

⁵²⁹ *Strabo. lib. x. p. 476.*

⁵³⁰ *Ægyptiaca numinum fana plena plangoribus, Græca plerumque choreis.* *Apul. de Genio. Socrat.*

⁵³¹ *Herodot. lib. ii. 39.*

⁵³² Expiatory sacrifices were occasionally performed by individuals, but seem not to have formed any part of the established worship among the Greeks; hence we usually find them mentioned with contempt. See *Plat. de Repub. lib. ii. p. 595. E. ed. Fic. 1690.*

⁵³³ *Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 358.*

of that language, whose copiousness, harmony, and flexibility, afforded an adequate vehicle for the unparalleled effusions of taste and genius, which followed.

76. Oracles had great influence over the public counsels of the different states of Greece and Asia during a long time; and as they were rarely consulted without a present, the most celebrated of them acquired immense wealth. That of Delphi was so rich, when plundered by the Phocians, that it enabled them to support an army of twenty thousand mercenaries upon double pay during nine years, besides supplying the great sums employed in bribing the principal states of Greece to support or permit their sacrilege.⁵⁶⁴ Too great eagerness to amass wealth was, however, the cause of their falling into discredit; it having been discovered that, on many occasions, those were most favored, who paid best;⁵⁶⁵ and, in the time of Philip, the Pythian priestess being observed to be as much under the influence of Macedonian gold, as any of his pensioned orators.⁵⁶⁶

77. The Romans, whose religion, as well as language, was a corruption of the Greek, though immediately derived from the Etruscans, revived the ancient mode of divination by the flights of birds, and the motions and appearances of animals offered in sacrifice; but though supported by a college of augurs chosen from the most eminent and experienced men in the republic, it fell into disregard, as the steady light of human science arose to show its fallacy. Another mode, however, of exploring future events arose at the same time; and, as it was founded upon extreme refinement of false philosophy, it for a long time triumphed over the common sense of mankind, even during the most enlightened ages. This was judicial astrology; a most abject species of practical superstition, arising out of something extremely like theoretical atheism.

78. The great active principle of the universe, though personified by the poets, and dressed out with all the variable attributes of human nature, was supposed by the mystic theologists to act by the permanent laws of pre-established rule; and not by the fluctuating impulses of any thing analogous to the human will; the very exertion of which appeared to them to imply a sort of mutability of intention, that could only arise from new ideas or new sentiments, both equally incompatible with a mind infinite in its powers of action and perception: for, to such a mind, those events which happened yesterday, and those which are to happen during the immeasurable flux of time, are equally present, and its will is necessarily *that* which is, because all that is arose from its will. The act that gave existence, gave all the consequences and effects of existence, which are therefore all equally dependent upon the first cause; and, how remote soever from it, still connected with it by a regular and indissoluble chain of gradation: so that the movements of the great luminaries of heaven, and those of the smallest reptiles that elude the sight, have some mutual relation to each other, as being alike integral parts of one great whole.

79. As the general movement of this great whole was supposed to be derived from the first divine impulse, which it received when constructed; so the particular movements of each subordinate part were supposed to be derived from the first impulse, which that particular part received, when put into motion by some more principal one. Of course the actions and fortunes of individual men were thought to depend upon the first impulse, which each received upon entering the world: for, as every subsequent event was produced by some preceding one, all were really produced by the first. The moment therefore of every man's birth being supposed to determine every circumstance of his life, it was only necessary to find out in what mode the celestial bodies, supposed to be the primary wheels of the universal machine, operated at that moment, in order to discover all that would happen to him afterwards.

80. The regularity of the risings and settings of the fixed stars, though it announced the changes of the seasons, and the orderly variations of nature, could not be adapted to the capricious mutability of human actions, fortunes, and adventures: wherefore the astrologers had recourse to the planets; whose more complicated revolutions offered more varied and more extended combinations. Their different returns to certain points of the zodiac; their relative positions, and conjunctions with each other; and the particular character and aspect of each, were supposed to influence the affairs of men; whence daring impostors presumed to foretell, not only the destinies of individuals; but also the rise and fall of empires, and the fate of the world itself.⁵⁶⁷

81. This mode of prediction seems to have been originally Chaldaean; and to have been brought from Babylon by the Greeks together with the little astronomy that they knew:⁵⁶⁸ but the Chaldaeans

⁵⁶⁴ Diodor. Sic. lib. xvi. s. 37. et seq.

⁵⁶⁵ Το μαντικόν γὰρ πάν φιλάρχον γένος. Sophocl. Antigon. v. 1171.

See also Herodot. lib. vi.

⁵⁶⁶ See Demosth. Philip. &c.

⁵⁶⁷ See Bailly Discours sur l'Astrologie.

⁵⁶⁸ Herodot. l. ii. c. 109. Πολὺν μὲν γὰρ, καὶ γυμνασίαι, καὶ τὰ δυνάμει μετρίαι τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἱμαθὸν οἱ Ἕλληνας.

continued to be the great practitioners of it; and by exciting the hopes of aspiring individuals, or the fears of jealous tyrants, contrived to make themselves of mischievous importance in the Roman empire;⁸⁶⁹ the principles of their pretended science being sufficiently specious to obtain credit, when every other of the kind had been exploded. The Greeks do not seem ever to have paid much attention to it; nor, indeed, to any mode of prediction after the decline of their oracles.⁸⁷⁰ neither is it ever mentioned among the superstitions of the ancient Ægyptians, though their creed certainly admitted the principle upon which it is founded.⁸⁷¹ It is said to have been believed by only a certain sect among the Chaldeans;⁸⁷² the general system of whose religion seems to have been the same as that of most other nations of the northern hemisphere; and to have taught the existence of an universal pervading Spirit, whose subordinate emanations diffused themselves through the world,⁸⁷³ and presented themselves in different places, ranks, and offices, to the adoration of men; who, by their mediation, were enabled to approach the otherwise inaccessible light of the supreme and ineffable First Cause.⁸⁷⁴

82. Like the Greeks, they personified these subordinate emanations, and gave them names expressing their different offices and attributes; such as Michael, Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel, &c.; which the Jews having adopted during the captivity, and afterwards engrafted upon the Mosaic system, they have still retained their primitive sanctity, and are solemnly invoked in many parts of Europe by persons, who would think themselves guilty of the most flagitious impiety, if they invoked the same personifications by their Greek or Latin titles of Mars, Mercury, Hermes, or Apollo. The generative or creative attribute seems to have held the highest rank; but it was not adopted with the others by the Jews: for as the true Creator had condescended to become their national and peculiar God, they naturally abhorred all pretenders to his high office.

83. At Babylon, as in other countries, this attribute was divided into two distinct personifications, the one male, and the other female, called Beel and Mylitta by the Assyrians, and *Zeus* and *Αφροδιτη* by the Greeks;⁸⁷⁵ but, as the latter people subdivided their personified attributes and emanations much more than any other, the titles of their deities cannot be supposed to express the precise meaning of those of Assyria. Beel, or as the Greeks write it *Βελος*, was certainly the same title differently pronounced, as the Bael of the Phœnicians, which signified lord or master; and Mylitta seems to have been in all respects the same as the Venus of the Greeks; she having been honored with rites equally characteristic and appropriate. The Babylonian women of every rank and condition held it to be an indispensable duty of religion to prostitute themselves, once in their lives, in her temple, to any stranger who came and offered money; which, whether little or much, was accepted and applied to sacred purposes. Numbers of these devotees were always in waiting, and the stranger had the liberty of choosing whichever he liked, as they stood in rows in the temple; no refusal being allowed.⁸⁷⁶

84. A similar custom prevailed in Cyprus,⁸⁷⁷ and probably in many other countries; it being, as Herodotus observes, the practice of all mankind, except the Greeks and Ægyptians, to take such liberties with their temples, which, they concluded, must be pleasing to the Deity, as birds and animals, acting under the guidance of instinct, or by the immediate impulse of Heaven, did the same.⁸⁷⁸ The exceptions he might safely have omitted, at least as far as relates to the Greeks: for there were a thousand sacred prostitutes kept in each of the celebrated temples of Venus at Eryx and Corinth; who, according to all accounts, were extremely expert and assiduous in attending to the duties of their profession;⁸⁷⁹ and it is not likely that the temple, which they served, should be the only place exempted from being the scene of them. Dionysius of Halicarnassus claims the same exception in favor of the Romans; but, as we suspect, equally without reason: for Juvenal, who lived only a century later, when the same religion, and nearly the same manners prevailed, seems to consider every temple in Rome as a kind of licensed brothel.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁶⁹ Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax. See Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 32. lib. xii. c. 52. and Hist. lib. i. c. 22; also Plin. lib. xxx. c. i.

⁸⁷⁰ Pindar, Olymp. xii. 10.

⁸⁷¹ Herodot. lib. ii. 82.

⁸⁷² Προσποιονται δε τινες (των Χαλδαιων) γενεθλιασμεν, ος ου καταδεχονται οι ιεροι. Strabo. lib. xvi. p. 762.

⁸⁷³ Fons omnium spirituum, Deus Supremus, cujus essentiam per universum mundum tanquam animam diffusam esse, &c. &c.—non Chaldaei tantum et Ægyptus, sed universus fere gentilissimus vetustissimus credidit. Brucker. Hist. Crit. Philos. lib. ii. c. 2. s. 18. See also Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. iv. c. 5.

⁸⁷⁴ Summum universi regem in luce inaccessibili habitare, nec adiri posse nisi mediantibus spiritibus mediatoribus, universi fere Orientis dogma fuit. Brucker. ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Herodot. lib. i.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid. c. 199.

⁸⁷⁸ Lib. ii. 64.

⁸⁷⁹ Strabo, lib. viii. p. 378. Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. Philodem. Epigr. in Brunck. Analect. vol. ii. p. 85.

⁸⁸⁰ Nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isis et Ganymeden

Pacis, et advectæ secreta palatia matris,

Et Cererem (nam quo non prostat femina templo?)

Notior Ausonio mœchus celebrare solebas. Sat. ix. 22.

85. While the temples of the Hindoos possessed their establishments, most of them had bands of consecrated prostitutes, called the Women of the Idol, selected in their infancy by the Bramins for the beauty of their persons, and trained up with every elegant accomplishment that could render them attractive, and ensure success in the profession; which they exercised at once for the pleasure and profit of the priesthood. They were never allowed to desert the temple; and the offspring of their promiscuous embraces were, if males, consecrated to the service of the deity in the ceremonies of his worship; and, if females, educated in the profession of their mothers.²⁸¹

86. Night being the appropriate season for these mysteries, and being also supposed to have some genial and nutritive influence in itself,²⁸² was personified, as the source of all things, the passive productive principle of the universe,²⁸³ which the Egyptians called by a name, that signified Night.²⁸⁴ Hesiod says, that the nights belong to the blessed gods; it being then that dreams descend from Heaven to forewarn and instruct men.²⁸⁵ Hence night is called *εὐφροσύνη*, good or benevolent, by the ancient poets; and to perform any unseemly act or gesture in the face of night, as well as in the face of the sun, was accounted a heinous offence.²⁸⁶ This may seem, indeed, a contradiction to their practice: but it must be remembered that a free communication between the sexes was never reckoned criminal by the ancients, unless when injurious to the peace or pride of families; and as to the foul and unnatural debaucheries imputed to the Bacchanalian societies suppressed by the Romans, they were either mere calumnies, or abuses introduced by private persons, and never countenanced by public authority in any part of the world. Had the Christian societies sunk under the first storms of persecution, posterity would have believed them guilty of similar crimes; of which they were equally accused by witnesses more numerous and not less credible.²⁸⁷ We do, indeed, sometimes find indications of unnatural lusts in ancient sculptures: but they were undoubtedly the works of private caprice; or similar compositions would have been found upon coins; which they never are, except upon the Spinthriæ of Tiberius, which were merely tickets of admission to the scenes of his private amusement. Such preposterous appetites, though but too observable in all the later ages of Greece, appear to have been wholly unknown to the simplicity of the early times; they never being once noticed either in the Iliad, the Odyssey, or the genuine poem of Hesiod; for as to the lines in the former poem alluding to the rape of Ganymede, they are manifestly spurious.²⁸⁸

87. The Greeks personified night under the title of *ΑΗΤΩ*, or Latona, and *ΒΑΥΒΩ*; the one signifying *oblivion*, and the other *sleep*, or quietude;²⁸⁹ both of which were meant to express the unmoved tranquillity prevailing through the infinite variety of unknown darkness, that preceded the Creation, or first emanation of light. Hence she was said to have been the first wife of Jupiter,²⁹⁰ the mother of Apollo and Diana, or the Sun and Moon, and the nurse of the Earth and the stars.²⁹¹ The Egyptians differed a little from the Greeks, and supposed her to be the nurse and grandmother of Horus and Bubastis, their Apollo and Diana;²⁹² in which they agreed more exactly with the ancient naturalists, who held that heat was nourished by the humidity of night.²⁹³ Her symbol was the Mygdalè, or Mus Araneus, anciently supposed to be blind;²⁹⁴ but she is usually represented, upon the monuments of ancient art, under the form of a large and comely woman, with a veil upon her

²⁸¹ Maurice Antiq. Ind. vol. i. pt. i. p. 341.

A devout Mohammedan, who in the ixth. century travelled through India, solemnly thanks the Almighty that *he* and *his* nation were delivered from the errors of infidelity, and unstained by the horrible enormities of so criminal a system of superstition.

The devout Bramin might, perhaps, have offered up more acceptable thanks, that *he* and *his* nation were free from the errors of a sanguinary fanaticism, and unstained by the more horrible enormities of massacre, pillage, and persecution; which had been consecrated by the religion of Mohammed; and which every where attended the progress of his followers, spreading slavery, misery, darkness, and desolation, over the finest regions of the earth; of which the then happy Indians soon after felt the dire effects:—effects, which, whether considered as moral, religious, or political evils, are of a magnitude and atrocity, which make all the licentious abuses of luxury, veiled by hypocrisy, appear trifling indeed!

²⁸² Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. vii.

²⁸³ Νύξ γενεὰς πάντων ἥν καὶ Κυπρίαν καλεσόμεν. Orph. Hymn. ii. 2.

²⁸⁴ Αἰθὴρ or Αἰθώρ, called Aithorh still in the Coptic. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib. i. c. i. s. 7.

²⁸⁵ Μακάριον τοὶ νύκτες εἶπασιν. Hesiod. Epy. 730.

²⁸⁶ Hesiod. Epy. 727.

²⁸⁷ Liv. Hist. l. xxxix. c. 9, &c. Mosheim, Gibbon, &c.

²⁸⁸ Il. E. 265, &c. Y. 230, &c.

²⁸⁹ Νύξ δὲ, ἢ Αἰθὴρ, λεγόμεναι τις οὐσα τῶν εἰς ὕπνον τραπεζομένων. Plutarch. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. c. i.

²⁹⁰ Βαυβὴ καλεῖται. Βαυβὴ καθεύδεν. Hesych. It is the same word as *ανεν*, in a different dialect.

²⁹¹ Odys. A. 579.

²⁹² ΒΑΥΒΩ τὴν ἡν Διμήτρος. Hesych.

²⁹³ Ω νύξ μελαίνη χροσίων ἀστέρων τροφέ. Euripid. Electra. 54.

²⁹⁴ Herodot. lib. ii. 156.

²⁹⁵ Omnium autem physicorum assertione constat calorem humore nutrir. Macrobi. Sat. i. c. 23.

²⁹⁶ Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. iv. q. v. p. 670. Anton. Liberal. cap. xxviii.

head.²⁹⁵ This veil, in painting, was always black; and in gems, the artists generally avail themselves of a dark-coloured vein in the stone to express it; it being the same as that which was usually thrown over the symbol of the generative attribute, to signify the nutritive power of Night, fostering the productive power of the pervading Spirit; whence Priapus is called, by the poets, *black-cloaked*.²⁹⁶ The veil is often stellated, or marked with asterisks,²⁹⁷ and is occasionally given to all the personifications of the generative attribute, whether male or female;²⁹⁸ and likewise to portraits of persons consecrated, or represented in a sacred or sacerdotal character, which, in such cases, it invariably signifies.²⁹⁹

88. The Ægyptian Horus is said to have been the son of Osiris and Isis, and to have been born while both his parents were in the womb of their mother Rhea;³⁰⁰ a fable which means no more than that the active and passive powers of production joined in the general concretion of substance, and caused the separation or delivery of the elements from each other: for the name of Apollo is evidently a title derived from a Greek verb, signifying to deliver from;³⁰¹ and it is probable that Horus (or whatever was the Ægyptian name of this deity) had a similar meaning, it being manifestly intended to signify a personified mode of action of Osiris;³⁰² in the same manner as Liber, the corresponding title in the Latin tongue, signified a personified mode of action of the generator Bacchus.³⁰³ His statue at Coptos had the symbol of the generative attribute in his hand, said to be taken from Typhon, the destroying power;³⁰⁴ and there are small statues of him now extant, holding the circle and cross, which seems to have been the symbol meant. Typhon is said to have struck out and swallowed one of his eyes;³⁰⁵ whence the itinerant priests and priestesses of the Ægyptian religion, under the Roman emperors, always appeared with this deformity;³⁰⁶ but the meaning of the fable cannot now be ascertained, any more than that of the single lock of hair, worn on the right side of the head, both by Horus and his priests.

89. According to Manethos, the Ægyptians called the loadstone, the *bone of Osiris*;³⁰⁷ by which it should seem that he represented the attractive principle; which is by no means incompatible with his character of separator and deliverer of the elements; for this separation was supposed to be produced by attraction. The Sun, according to the ancient system, learnt by Pythagoras from the Orphic, and other mystic traditions, being placed in the centre of the universe, with the planets moving round,³⁰⁸ was, by its attractive force, the cause of all union and harmony in the whole, and, by the emanation of its beams, the cause of all motion and activity in the parts. This system, so remote from all that is taught by common sense and observation, but now so fully proved to be true, was taught secretly by Pythagoras; who was rather the founder of a religious order for the purposes of ambition, than of a philosophical sect for the extension of science. After a premature discovery

²⁹⁵ See medals of the Brettii, Siciliotes, King Pyrrhus, &c.

The animal symbol rarely occurs; but upon a beautifully-engraved gem, belonging to Mr. Payne Knight, is the head of a Boar, the symbol of Mars the destroyer, joined to the head of a Ram, the symbol of Bacchus or Ammon the generator; upon which repose a Dog, the symbol of Mercury, or presiding Mind; and upon the back of the dog is the Mygalé, the symbol of Latona, or Night.

²⁹⁶ Μελαγχλαῖνοι τε Πριήτοι. Mosch. Epitaph. Bion 27.

²⁹⁷ See medals of Syracuse.

²⁹⁸ See heads of Venus on the gold coins of Tarentum, silver of Corinth—of Bacchus on those of Lampsacus, &c.

²⁹⁹ See medals of Julius Caesar, Livia, the Queens of Syria and Ægypt, bust of Marcus Aurelius in the Townley collection, &c.

³⁰⁰ Ἦ μὲν γὰρ, ἐπὶ τῶν θῶν ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς Ῥέας οὐτοῦν, ἐξ Ἰσιδος καὶ Οὐσιριδος γενομένη γενεὴς Ἀπολλωνος, &c. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 373. We only quote Plutarch's facts, his explanations and etymologies being oftener from the School of Plato, than from ancient Ægypt.

³⁰¹ Ἀπολλών, anciently written ἈΠΟΛΥΦΩ.

³⁰² Ἐστὶ δ' οὗτος (Ὡρος) ὁ περιγεῖνος κοσμος, οὐτε φθορας ἀπαλλαγόμενος πανταπασιν, οὐτε γενεσεως. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 371.

Plutarch, in this explanation, has only mistaken the effect for the cause.

³⁰³ The Latin adjective liber comes from the Greek verb ἄλφω; by a well-known variation of dialect, from the Y to the I, and from the F to the B.

³⁰⁴ Ἐν Κοπτῇ το ἀγάλμα του Ὁρου ἐν ἑτέρῃ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα κατεχί. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 373.

³⁰⁵ Καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι του Ὁρου νῦν μὲν παταξί, νῦν δ' ἐξελὼν κατεκτείνῃ ὁ Τυφὼν τον οφθαλμον. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. ib.

³⁰⁶ Lusca sacerdos, Juv. A bronze head of an Ægyptian, with this deformity, belongs to Mr. P. Knight.

³⁰⁷ Ἐπὶ τῇ σιδερίνῃ λῶθῳ, οὕτως Ὁρου, (καλοῦσιν) —ὡς Ἰστορεῖ Μανέθως. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 376.

³⁰⁸ Εἰς τῶν οἱ περὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καλοῦσιν δὲ Πυθαγορίους, λεγόντων· ἐπὶ γὰρ του μεσση πυρ εἶναι φασί, τῇ δὲ γῇ ἐν τῶν ἀστέρων οὐσαν κεντρίν φερόμενην περὶ του μεσση, νοκτα τε καὶ ἡμεραν ποιεῖν. Aristot. de Cael. lib. ii. c. 13.

The author of the trifling book on the tenets of the Philosophers, falsely attributed to Plutarch, understands the central fire, round which the Earth and planets were supposed to move, not to be the Sun; in which he has been followed by Adam Smith and others: but Aristotle clearly understands it to be the Sun, or he could not suppose it to be the cause of day and night; neither could the Pythagoreans have been so ignorant as to attribute that cause to any other fire. This system is alluded to in an Orphic Fragment: Το δ' ἀπὸ μεσση κατα κεντρίν Ἀτρωτὴς εὐφροσιν. Fragm. No. xxxiii. ed. Gesner; and by Galen: Ἦρασκέλειος δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγορεῖς ἵσταντο τον ἀστέρων κοσμον εἶναι νομίζοντες, γῆν περιέχοντα καὶ αἰθερα ἐν τῇ ἀστέρι αἰρὶ. ταῦτα δὲ τα δογματὰ ἐν εἰσὶς Ὀρφικοῦς φημισθὰ λεγόνται. Hist. Phil. c. xlii.

had caused the ruin of him and his society, Philolaus, one of his disciples, published this part of his doctrines, and Aristarchus of Samos openly attempted to prove the truth of it;³⁰⁹ for which he was censured by Cleantes, as being guilty of impiety;³¹⁰ but speculative theories were never thought impious by the Greeks, unless they tended to reveal the mystic doctrines, or disprove the existence of a Deity. That of Aristarchus could not have been of the latter class, and therefore must have been of the former; though his accuser could not specify it without participating in the imputed criminality. The crimes of Socrates and Diagoras appear to have been, as before observed, of the same kind: whence Aristophanes represents them attributing the order and variety of the universe to circular motion, called ΔΙΝΟΣ; and then humorously introduces Strepsiades mistaking this Dinos for a new god, who had expelled Jupiter.³¹¹ Among the symbols carried in the mystic processions was a wheel;³¹² which is also represented on coins,³¹³ probably to signify the same meaning as was expressed by this word.

90. The great system to which it alluded was, however, rather believed than known; it having been derived from ancient tradition, and not discovered by study and observation. It was therefore supported by no proof; nor had it any other credit than what it derived from the mystic veneration paid to a vague notion, in some degree connected with religion, but still not sufficiently so to become an article of faith, even in the lax and comprehensive creed of Polytheism. Common observation might have produced the idea of a central cause of motion in the universe, and of a circular distribution of its parts; which might have led some more acute and discerning minds to imagine a solar system, without their having been led to it by any accurate or regular progress of discovery; and this we conceive to be a more easy and natural way of accounting for it, than supposing it to be a wreck or fragment of more universal science that had once existed among some lost and unknown people.³¹⁴

91. Of this central cause, and circular distribution, the primitive temples, of which we almost every where find vestiges, appear to have been emblems: for they universally consist of circles of rude stones; in the centre of which seems to have been the symbol of the deity. Such were the pyraethia of the Persians,³¹⁵ the Celtic temples of the North, and the most ancient recorded of the Greeks; one of which, built by Adrastus, a generation before the Trojan war, remained at Sicyon in the time of Pausanias.³¹⁶ It seems that most of the places of worship known in the Homeric times were of this kind; for though temples and even statues are mentioned in Troy, the places of worship of the Greeks consisted generally of an area and altar only.³¹⁷

92. The Persians, who were the primitivists, or puritans of Heathenism, thought it impious or foolish to employ any more complicated structures in the service of the Deity;³¹⁸ whence they destroyed with unrelenting bigotry, the magnificent temples of Ægypt and Greece.³¹⁹ Their places of worship were circles of stones, in the centre of which they kindled the sacred fire, the only symbol of their god: for they abhorred statues, as well as temples and altars;³²⁰ thinking it unworthy of the majesty of the Deity to be represented by any definite form, or to be circumscribed in any determinate space. The universe was his temple, and the all-pervading element of fire his only representative; whence their most solemn act of devotion was, kindling an immense fire on the top of a high mountain, and offering up, in it, quantities of milk, honey, wine, oil, and all kinds of perfumes; as Mithradates did, with great expense and magnificence, according to the rites of his Persian ancestors, when about to engage in his second war with the Romans; the event of which was to make him lord of all, or of nothing.³²¹

93. These offerings were made to the all-pervading Spirit of the universe, (which Herodotus calls by the Greek name of Jupiter), and to his subordinate emanations, diffused through the Sun and Moon, and the terrestrial elements, fire, air, earth, and water. They afterwards learned of the Syrians to worship their Astartè, or celestial Venus;³²² and by degrees adopted other superstitions from the Phœnicians and other neighbouring nations; who probably furnished them with the symbolical figures observable in the ruins of Persepolis, and the devices of their coins. We must not, however, as Hyde and Anquetil have done, confound the Persians of the first with those of the

³⁰⁹ Duten's Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes; and authorities there cited.

³¹⁰ Plutarch. de Fac. in orbe Luna, p. 922-3. The words of Plutarch are here decisive of the sense of those of Aristotle above cited. *Αριστάρχος φησι, δὲν Κλεάνθη τον Σαμων ποιήσας προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς κινουντα τον κοσμον την ἰσταν, ὅτι φαινόμενα σὺζεν ανηρ επιπατο, μινεν τον ουρανον ὑποσθήμενος' ἐξελιγέσθαι δὲ κατα λοζου κυκουλο την γην, ἡμα και περι τον αὐτοῦ αζωνα δινομενην.*

³¹¹ Nub. 826.

³¹² Epiphan. p. 1092.

³¹³ See medals of Philus, Cyrene, Luceria, Vetulonia, &c.

³¹⁴ See Bailly Hist. de l'Astronomie Ancienne.

³¹⁵ Ibid. p. 747.

³¹⁷ Τιμενος και βωμος.

³¹⁸ Pausan. lib. vii. c. xxii. and lib. ix.

³¹⁹ Herodot. lib. i. 181.

³²⁰ Ib.

³²² Strabo, lib. xv. p. 732, &c.

³²¹ Appian. de Bello Mithrad. c. 66.

³²³ Herodot. l. i. 181.

second dynasty, that succeeded the Parthians; nor place any reliance on the pretended Zendavesta, which the latter produced as the work of Zoroaster; but which is in reality nothing more than the ritual of the modern Guebers or Parsees. That it should have imposed upon Mr. Gibbon, is astonishing; as it is manifestly a compilation of no earlier date than the eighth or ninth century of Christianity, and probably much later.

94. The Greeks seem originally to have performed their acts of devotion to the ætherial Spirit upon high mountains; from which new titles, and consequently new personifications, were derived; such as those of Olympian, Dodonæan, Idæan, and Casian Jupiter.³⁹³ They were also long without statues;³⁹⁴ which were always considered, by the learned among them, as mere symbols, or the invention of human error to console human weakness.³⁹⁵ Numa, who was deeply skilled in mystic lore, forbade the Romans to represent the gods under any forms either of men or beasts;³⁹⁶ and they adhered to his instructions during the first hundred and seventy years of the republic;³⁹⁷ nor had the Germans, even in the age of Tacitus, renounced their primitive prejudices, or adopted any of the refinements of their neighbours on this subject.

95. In some instances, the circular area above mentioned is inclosed in a square one; and we are told that a square stone was the primitive symbol of several deities, more especially of the celestial Venus, or passive productive power, both among the ancient Greeks and ancient Arabians.³⁹⁸ Upon most of the very early Greek coins, too, we find an inverse or indented square, sometimes divided into four, and sometimes into a greater number of compartments; and latterly, with merely the symbol of the deity forming the device, in the centre. Antiquaries have supposed this incuse to be merely the impression of something put under the coin to make it receive the stroke of the die more steadily;³⁹⁹ but in all that we have seen of this kind, amounting to some hundreds, the coin has been driven into the die, and not struck with it, and the incuse impression been made either before or after the other, the edges of it being always beaten in or out. Similar impressions also occur on some of the little Egyptian amulets of paste, found in mummies, which were never struck, or marked with any impression on the reverse.

96. In these square areas, upon different coins almost every different symbol of the deity is to be found: whence, probably, the goddess represented by this form, acquired the singular titles of the *Place of the Gods*,⁴⁰⁰ and the *mundane House of Horus*.⁴⁰¹ These titles are both Egyptian: but the latter is signified very clearly upon Greek coins, by an asterisk placed in the centre of an incuse square:⁴⁰² for the asterisk being composed of obelisks, or rays diverging from a globe or common centre, was the natural representation of the Sun; and precisely the same as the radiated head of Apollo, except that, in the latter, the globe or centre was humanised. Upon the ancient medals of Corinth and Cnosus, the square is a little varied, by having the angles drawn out and inverted;⁴⁰³ particularly upon those of the latter city, which show a progressive variation of this form from a few simple lines, which, becoming more complicated and inverted, produce at length the celebrated Labyrinth⁴⁰⁴ which Dædalus is said by the mythologists to have built for Minos, as a prison to confine a monster begotten upon his wife Pasiphaë, by a bull, and therefore called the Minotaur. Pasiphaë is said to have been the daughter of the Sun; and her name, signifying *all-splendid*, is evidently an ancient epithet of that luminary. The bull is said to have been sent by Neptune, or the

³⁹³ See Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. viii.

³⁹⁴ Pausan. lib. vii. c. xxii.

³⁹⁵ Θνητοι δι πολλοι καρδια πλανομενοι,
Ἰδρυσσασθα, πηματων παραφυγην

Θτων αγαλματ' εκ λιθων τι και ξυλων. Sophocl. apud Justin. Martyr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 10.

There is another line, but it is a scholion on the preceding one. See Toup. Emend. in Suid. vol. ii. p. 526. The whole may possibly be the production of an Alexandrine Jew.

³⁹⁶ Plutarch. in Numa.

³⁹⁷ Varro apud Augustin. de Civ. Dei. lib. iv. c. vi.

³⁹⁸ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xxxviii. Clem. Alex. Protrept.

³⁹⁹ Ἐστῆσαι δε εγγυστετα του αγαλματος τετραγωνου λιθοι τριακοντα μαλιστα αριθμου. τωτονος σιβωνται οί Φορις, ἑκαστη θεν τινος ονομα επιληγοντες, τα δε ετι παλαιστορα και τοις πασιν Ἑλλησι τῆμας θεναν αντι αγαλματων ιχρον αργου λιθοι. Pausan. in Achia, c. xlii. s. 3. Ταυτες γαρ (κακ Αφροδιτης) σχημα μεν τετραγωνου κατα ταυτα και τοις Ἑρμαις, το δε περιγραμμη σημαίνει την Ουρανιαν Αφροδιτην των κολουουσων Μαιωνι μιαι προσβλεπονται. Pausan. in Att. c. xix. s. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ Abbé Barthélemi Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr. t. xxiv. p. 38. D'Ancarville Recherches sur les Arts, lib. i. c. iv. p. 412.

⁴⁰¹ Διο και την Συριαν Αταργατην τοπον θεναν καλουσιν, και την Ισιν οί Αιγυπτιοι, ως πολλων θεναν ιδιοτητας περιεχουσας. Simplic. in Aristot. lib. iv. Auscult. Phys. p. 150. ed. Ald. Hence Plutarch says that Osiris was the beginning, Isis the receptacle, and Horus the completion. De Is. et Osir. p. 374.

⁴⁰² Ἡ δ' Ισις εστιν οτι και Μουθι, και παλιν Αθουρ, και Μιθρα προσεγορευοντο. Σημανισαι δι τη μεν πρωτη των ονοματων, ματρη τηρ δε δευτερη, ουκον Ὀρου κοσμου. Plutarch. ibid.

⁴⁰³ See small brass coins of Syracuse, which are very common.

⁴⁰⁴ See Mus. Hunterian. pl. 20.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. pl. 18.

Sea;³³⁵ and the title which distinguished the offspring is, in an ancient inscription, applied to Attis, the Phrygian Bacchus;³³⁶ whence the meaning of the whole allegory distinctly appears; the Minotaur being only the ancient symbol of the bull, partly humanised; to whom Minos may have sacrificed his tributary slaves, or, more probably, employed them in the service of the deity.

97. In the centre of one of the more simple and primitive labyrinths on the Grecian coins above cited, is the head of a bull;³³⁷ and in others of a more recent style, the more complicated labyrinth is round.³³⁸ On some of those of Camarina in Sicily, the head of the god, more humanised than the Minotaur, yet still with the horns and features of the bull, is represented in the centre of an indented scroll,³³⁹ which other coins show to have been meant to represent the waters, by a transverse section of waves.³⁴⁰ On the coins, too, of Magnesia upon the Meander, the figure of Apollo is represented as leaning upon the tripod, and standing upon some crossed and inverted square lines, similar to the primitive form of the labyrinth on the coins of Corinth above cited.³⁴¹ These have been supposed to signify the river Meander: but they more probably signify the waters in general; as we find similar crossed and inverted lines upon coins struck in Sicily, both Greek and Punic;³⁴² and also upon rings and fibulae, which are frequently adorned with symbolical devices, meant to serve as amulets or charms. The bull however, both in its natural form, and humanised in various degrees, so as in some instances to leave only the horns of the animal symbol, is perpetually employed upon coins to signify particular rivers or streams; which being all derived from the Bacchus Hyes, as the Nile was from Osiris, were all represented under the same form.³⁴³

98. It appears, therefore, that the asterisk, bull, or Minotaur, in the centre of the square or labyrinth, equally mean the same as the Indian lingam—that is, the male personification of the productive attribute placed in the female, or heat acting upon humidity. Sometimes the bull is placed between two dolphins,³⁴⁴ and sometimes upon a dolphin or other fish;³⁴⁵ and in other instances the goat or the ram occupy the same situation;³⁴⁶ which are all different modes of expressing different modifications of the same meaning in symbolical or mystical writing. The female personifications frequently occupy the same place; in which case the male personification is always upon the reverse of the coin, of which numerous instances occur in those of Syracuse, Naples, Tarentum, and other cities.

99. Ariadne, the fabled wife of Bacchus, is a personage concerning whom there has been more confusion of history and allegory than concerning almost any other. Neither she, nor Bacchus, nor Theseus, appear to have been known to the author of the *Iliad*; the lines concerning them all three being manifestly spurious: but in the *Odyssey*, she is said to have been the daughter of Minos, and to have been carried away from Crete by Theseus to Athens, where she was killed by Diana—that is, died suddenly, before he enjoyed her.³⁴⁷ Such appears to have been the plain sense of the passage, according to its true and original reading: but Theseus having become a deified and symbolical personage, in a manner hereafter to be explained, Ariadne became so likewise; and was therefore fabled to have been deserted by him in the island of Naxos; where Bacchus found and married her; in consequence of which she became the female personification of the attribute which he represented; and as such constantly appears in the symbolical monuments of art, with all the accessory and characteristic emblems. Some pious heathen, too, made a bungling alteration, and still more bungling interpolation, in the passage of the *Odyssey*, to reconcile historical tradition with religious mythology.³⁴⁸

100. In many instances, the two personifications are united in one; and Bacchus, who on other occasions is represented as a bearded venerable figure,³⁴⁹ appears with the limbs, features, and character of a beautiful young woman;³⁵⁰ sometimes distinguished by the sprouting horns of the bull,³⁵¹ and sometimes without any other distinction than the crown or garland of vine or ivy.³⁵² Such

³³⁵ Apollodor. lib. iii. c. i. s. 3.

³³⁶ ATTIDI MINOTAURO. Gruter. vol. i. p. xxviii. No. 6.

³³⁷ In the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight.

³³⁸ In the same. Also in the British Museum.

³³⁹ Mus. Hunter. tab. 14. No. ix.

³⁴⁰ Ib. tab. 56. No. iii.

³⁴¹ Ib. tab. 35. No. ix.

³⁴² See a specimen of them on the reverse of a small coin, Mus. Hunter. tab. 67. No. v.

³⁴³ See coins of Catania, Selinus, Gela, Sybaris, &c.

³⁴⁴ See brass coins of Syracuse.

³⁴⁵ On a gold coin of Eretria in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight. Hence the curious hymn or invocation of the women of Elis to Bacchus:—Εἴχε δ' οὐτὺς ὁ ὕμνος (τὸν Ἡλείων γυναικῶν) "Ελθεῖν ἄρ' αὖτις, ἔλθ' αὖτις ἐς ναὸν ἄγνον, σὺν χαρίεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βίῳ ποτὶ θεῶν." Εἴτα δις ἐπρόουσι· "Ἄξει ταυρῶν." Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. p. 299.

³⁴⁶ On gold coins of Ægeæ and Clazomenæ, in the same collection.

³⁴⁷ Δ. 320.

³⁴⁸ Εἴχε for εἴτα (which is preserved in some Mss. and Scholia), and by adding the following line, v. 324; a most manifest interpolation.

³⁴⁹ See silver coins of Naxos, and pl. xvi. and xxxix. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens.

³⁵⁰ See coins of Camarina, &c.

³⁵¹ See gold coins of Lampascus in Mus. Hunter., and silver of Maronea.

³⁵² See gold medals of Lampascus, brass ditto of Rhodes, and pl. xxxix. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens.

were the Phrygian Attis, and Syrian Adonis; whose history, like that of Bacchus, is disguised by poetical and allegorical fable; but who, as usually represented in monuments of ancient art, are androgynous personifications of the same attribute,³⁵³ accompanied, in different instances, by different accessory symbols. Considered as the pervading and fertilizing spirit of the waters, Bacchus differs from Neptune in being a general emanation, instead of a local division, of the productive power;³⁵⁴ and also in being a personification derived from a more refined and philosophical system of religion, engrafted upon the old elementary worship, to which Neptune belonged.

101. It is observed by Dionysius the geographer, that Bacchus was worshipped with peculiar zeal and devotion by the ancient inhabitants of some of the smaller British islands;³⁵⁵ where the *women, crowned with ivy, celebrated his clamorous nocturnal rites upon the shores of the Northern Ocean, in the same manner as the Thracians did upon the banks of the Apsinthus, or the Indians upon those of the Ganges.* In Stukeley's Itinerary is the ground plan of an ancient Celtic or Scandinavian temple, found in Zealand, consisting of a circle of rude stones within a square: and it is probable that many others of these circles were originally enclosed in square areas. Stonehenge is the most important monument of this kind now extant; and from a passage of Hecateus, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, it seems to have been not wholly unknown to that ancient historian; who might have collected some vague accounts of the British islands from the Phœnician and Carthaginian merchants who traded there for tin. "*The Hyperboreans,*" says he, "*inhabit an island beyond Gaul, in which Apollo is worshipped in a circular temple considerable for its size and riches.*"³⁵⁶ This island can be no other than Britain; in which we know of no traces of any other circular temple, which could have appeared considerable to a Greek or Phœnician of that age. That the account should be imperfect and obscure is not surprising; since even the most inquisitive and credulous travellers among the Greeks could scarcely obtain sufficient information concerning the British islands to satisfy them of their existence.³⁵⁷ A temple of the same form was situated upon Mount Zilmisus in Thrace, and dedicated to the Sun under the title of Bacchus Sebazius;³⁵⁸ and another is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, which was dedicated to Mars upon an island in the Euxine Sea near the coast of the Amazons.³⁵⁹

102. The large obelisks of stone found in many parts of the North, such as those at Rudstone and near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, belonged to the same religion: obelisks, as Pliny observes, being sacred to the Sun; whose rays they signified both by their form and name.³⁶⁰ They were therefore the emblems of light, the primary and essential emanation of the Deity; whence radiating the head, or surrounding it with a diadem of small obelisks, was a mode of consecration or deification, which flattery often employed in the portraits both of the Macedonian kings and Roman emperors.³⁶¹ The mystagogues and poets expressed the same meaning by the epithet ΑΥΚΕΙΟΣ or ΑΥΚΑΙΟΣ; which is occasionally applied to almost every personification of the Deity, and more especially to Apollo; who is likewise called ΑΥΚΗΓΕΝΗΣ, or as contracted ΑΥΚΗΓΕΝΗΣ;³⁶² which mythologists have explained by an absurd fable of his having been born in Lycia; whereas it signifies the *Author* or *Generator of Light*; being derived from ΑΥΚΗ otherwise ΑΥΚΟΣ, of which the Latin word LUX is a contraction.

103. The Latin titles LUCETIUS and DIESPITER applied to Jupiter are expressive of the same attribute; the one signifying *luminous*, and the other the *Father of Day*, which the Cretans called by

³⁵³ Λιψότεροι γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ (Ποσειδῶν καὶ Διονύσιος) τῆς ἕγρας καὶ γοιμῶν κυρίως ἔδεσσιν ἀρχῆς εἶναι. Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. v. qu. 3.

Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἰσὶν ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν, ἔγγροι δυνάμις. Phurmut. de Nat. Deor. c. iv.

³⁵⁴ Ὅτι δ' οὐ μόνον τοῦ οἶνου Διονύσιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἕγρας φύσεως Ἕλληνας ἡγόνανται κυρίως καὶ ἀρχηγόν, ἀρκεί Πεδάρως μαρτυρεῖται, κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

³⁵⁵ Ἀρχὴ δὲ, νησιῶν ἱερός παρὸς, ἐνθα γυναῖκες ἄνδρων ἀντιπερὶθεν ἀγαυὸν Ἀμινταῶν ὀρνεύμεναι τέλειον κατὰ νόμον ἱέρα Βακχῶν, Στεφανίαναι εἰσποιοὶ μελαμφύλλοι κορυμβοί, Εὐνυχίαι πατεγῆς δὲ λευκοῦρος ὀρνέται κτλ. κ. τ. λ. V. 570.

What islands are meant is uncertain; but probably the Hebrides or Orades.

³⁵⁶ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ τινες ἱερεῖς φασιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπερὶθεν τῆς Κιλικίας τοπαῖς κατὰ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ εἶναι νησον οὐκ ἐλαττω τῆς Σικελίας, ———— ἱπάρχων δὲ κατὰ τὴν νησον τιμένους τὴν Ἀπολλωνίως μεγαλοπρεπεί, καὶ ναὸν ἀξιολογῶν ἀναθημαῖς πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένον, σφαιροειδῆ τῇ σχηματι. Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. c. 47. ed. Wesseling. The whole passage is extremely curious.

³⁵⁷ Οὐτε νησὶς οὐδὰ Κασσιτερίδας εἰσασας, ἐκ τῶν ὃ κασσιτερος ἦμιν φοῖται. Herodot. lib. iii. 115.

³⁵⁸ Macrobi. Sat. i. c. 18.

³⁵⁹ Argonaut. lib. ii. 1169.

³⁶⁰ Lib. xxxvi. l. 14.

το φως γεννάσας ἰστί σμεινον. Plutarch. Q. R.

³⁶¹ See Plin. Panegy. s. lii. and the coins of Antiochus IV. and VI. of Syria, Philip IV. of Macedonia, several of the Ptolemies, Augustus, &c.

³⁶² Il. Δ. 101. Schol. Didym. et Ven. Heraclid. Pont. p. 417. ed. Gale.

the name of the Supreme God.³⁶³ In symbolical writing the same meaning was signified by the appropriate emblems in various countries; whence the ZEYΣ MEIΛIXIOS at Sicily, and the Apollo Carinas at Megara in Attica were represented by stones of the above-mentioned form;³⁶⁴ as was also the Apollo Agyieus in various places;³⁶⁵ and both Apollo and Diana by simple columns pointed at the top; or, as the symbol began to be humanised, with the addition of a head, hands, and feet.³⁶⁶ On a Lapland drum the goddess Isa or Disa is represented by a pyramid surmounted with the emblem so frequently observed in the hands of the Ægyptian deities;³⁶⁷ and the pyramid has likewise been observed among the religious symbols of the savages of North America.³⁶⁸ The most sacred idol, too, of the Hindoos in the great temple of Jagernaut, in the province of Orissa, is a pyramidal stone;³⁶⁹ and the altar in the temple of Mexico, upon which human victims were sacrificed to the deity of the Sun, was a pointed pyramid, on which the unhappy captive was extended upon his back, in order to have his heart taken out by the priest.³⁷⁰

104. The spires and pinnacles, with which our old churches are decorated, come from these ancient symbols; and the weathercocks, with which they are surmounted, though now only employed to show the direction of the wind, were originally emblems of the Sun: for the cock is the natural herald of the day; and therefore sacred to the fountain of light.³⁷¹ In the symbolical writing of the Chinese, the Sun is still represented by a cock in a circle;³⁷² and a modern Parsee would suffer death rather than be guilty of the crime of killing one.³⁷³ It appears on many ancient coins, with some symbol of the passive productive power on the reverse;³⁷⁴ and in other instances it is united with priapic and other emblems and devices, signifying different attributes combined.³⁷⁵

105. The Ægyptians, among whom the obelisk and pyramid were most frequently employed, held that there were two opposite powers in the world perpetually acting against each other; the one generating and the other destroying; the former of whom they called Osiris, and the latter Typhon. By the contention of these two, that mixture of good and evil, of procreation and dissolution, which was thought to constitute the harmony of the world, was supposed to be produced;³⁷⁶ and the notion of such a necessary mixture, or reciprocal operation, was, according to Plutarch, of immemorial antiquity, derived from the earliest theologists and legislators, not only in traditions and reports, but also in mysteries and sacred rites both Greek and Barbarian.³⁷⁷ Fire was held to be the efficient principle of both; and, according to some of the later Ægyptians, that ætherial fire supposed to be concentrated in the Sun: but Plutarch controverts this opinion, and asserts that Typhon, the evil or destroying power, was a terrestrial or material fire, essentially different from the ætherial; although he, as well as other Greek writers, admits him to have been the brother of Osiris, equally sprung

³⁶³ Macrob. Sat. i. c. 15. Cretenses Δία την ἡμέραν vocant.

³⁶⁴ Εἰσι δὲ Ζεὺς Μελίχιος, καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἀνομαζόμενοι Πατρόες, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδέμῃ πυραμίδι ὁ δὲ Μελίχιος, ἡ δὲ κισὴ ἐστὶν ἱεραμένη. Pausan. in Cor. c. 9. s. 6.

³⁶⁵ Ἰβίος παριχρονὸς πυραμίδος σχῆμα σὺν μεγάλῃ τούτου Ἀπολλωνία ἀνομαζοῦσι Κερῖνον. Id. in Att. c. 44. s. 3.

³⁶⁶ Ἀγνέις δὲ ἐστὶ κίων ἐς οὐ λήγων, ὃν ἵστασι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἰδίους δὲ φασὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι Ἀπολλωνίους· οἱ δὲ Διονύσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀρφαί. Ἀγνέις, ὁ πρὸ τῶν αὐλῶν θυρῶν κυνοειδὲς κίων, ἱερός Ἀπολλωνος, καὶ αὐτός θεός. Suidas in voce Ἀγναί. Vide et Schol. in Aristoph. Vesp. 870. et Schol. in Eurip. Phœniss. 634. et Eustath. in Hom. p. 166. lib. 22.

³⁶⁷ Ὅτι μὴ προσώπου αὐτῇ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἀκροὶ καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λαῖπον χάλος κισὶν ἐστὶν ἱεραμένον· ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κρᾶνος, λογχὴν δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοξόν. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 19. s. 2.

³⁶⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. 11. c. v. p. 277. and c. xi. p. 261.

³⁶⁹ Lafitau Mœurs des Sauvages. t. i. p. 146 and 8.

³⁷⁰ Hamilton's Travels in India.

³⁷¹ Acosta's History of the Indies. p. 382.

³⁷² Ἠλιὸν δὲ ἱερὸν φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ἀντίβα, καὶ ἀγγίλειν ἀνίμην μὴλλόντος τοῦ ἡλίου. Pausan. in El. prior. c. 25. 5.

³⁷³ Pour peindre le Soleil, ils (les Chinois) mettent un Coq dans un Cercle. Du Halde vol. ii. p. 252.

³⁷⁴ Hyde de Relig. vet. Persarum. ³⁷⁵ See coins of Himera, Samothrace, Suessa, &c. ³⁷⁶ Ib. and Selinus.

³⁷⁷ Οὐκ ἂν γινώσκοι χωρὶς ἐσθλα καὶ κακά, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τις σύγκρασις, ὥστ' εἶχει καλῶς. Eurip. apud Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

Ἰῶσα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθρῇ
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θίων γένετ' αὐτῇ,
ἡ δ' ὕδροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίους
παράδειξιμένη τιττι θύατος,
τιττι δὲ βόραν, φίλα τι θέρων'
χωρεῖ δ' οὔσις τα μὲν ἐκ γῆρας
φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν· τα δ' ἀπ' αἰθρίου
βλάσποντα γούνης εἰς οὐρανὸν
πολὺν ἤλθε τάλη. κ. τ. λ. Ejust. in Grotii excerpt. p. 417.

³⁷⁷ Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιος αὕτη κατεῖπεν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ νομοθετῶν ἐς ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δοξα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδεσποτὸν ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πιστὴν ἰσχύραν καὶ διατεταγμένην, οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ μόνῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν φημαῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ τέλει, ἐν τῇ θύατι καὶ Βαρβάρῳ καὶ Ἑλλήσι πολλοῖσιν περιφερόμενον, κ. τ. λ. de Is. et Osir. p. 369.

γίνεσθαι, συμμειγναι, τούτου. ἀπολείπει, μιωθῆναι, διακρίθηναι, τούτου. Hippocrät. Διατρ. lib. i. s. 6.

from ΚΡΟΝΟΣ and ΠΕΑ, or Time and Matter.³⁷⁸ In this however, as in other instances, he was seduced, partly by his own prejudices, and partly by the new system of the Ægyptian Platonics; according to which there was an original evil principle in nature, co-eternal with the good, and acting in perpetual opposition to it.

106. This opinion owes its origin to a false notion, which we are apt to form, of good and evil, by considering them as self-existing inherent properties, instead of relative modifications dependent upon circumstances, causes, and events: but, though patronised by very learned and distinguished individuals, it does not appear ever to have formed a part of the religious system of any people or established sect. The beautiful allegory of the two casks in the *Iliad*, makes Jupiter the distributor of both good and evil;³⁷⁹ which Hesiod also deduces from the same god.³⁸⁰ The statue of Olympian Jupiter at Megara, begun by Phidias and Theocosmus, but never finished, the work having been interrupted by the Peloponnesian war, had the Seasons and Fates over his head, to show, as Pausanias says, that the former were regulated by him, and the latter obedient to his will.³⁸¹ In the citadel of Argos was preserved an ancient statue of him in wood, said to have belonged to king Priam, which had three eyes (as the Scandinavian deity Thor sometimes had),³⁸² to show the triple extent of his power and providence, over Heaven, Earth, and Hell;³⁸³ and, in the Orphic hymns or mystic invocations, he is addressed as the giver of life, and the destroyer.³⁸⁴

107. The third eye of this ancient statue was in the forehead; and it seems that the Hindoos have a symbolical figure of the same kind;³⁸⁵ whence we may venture to infer that the Cyclops, concerning whom there are so many inconsistent fables, owed their fictitious being to some such ænigmatical compositions. According to the ancient theogony attributed to Hesiod, they were the sons of Heaven and Earth, and brothers of Saturn or Time;³⁸⁶ signifying, according to the Scholiast, the circular or central powers,³⁸⁷ the principles of the general motion of the universe above noticed. The Cyclops of the *Odyssey* is a totally different personage: but as he is said to be the son of Neptune or the Sea, it is probable that he equally sprang from some emblematical figure, or allegorical tale. Whether the poet meant him to be a giant of a one-eyed race, or to have lost his other eye by accident, is uncertain; but the former is most probable, or he would have told what the accident was.—In an ancient piece of sculpture, however, found in Sicily, the artist has supposed the latter, as have also some learned moderns.³⁸⁸

108. The Ægyptians represented Typhon by the Hippopotamus, the most fierce and savage animal known to them; and, upon his back they put a hawk fighting with a serpent, to signify the direction of his power; for the hawk was the emblem of power,³⁸⁹ as the serpent was of life; whence it was employed as the symbol of Osiris, as well as of Typhon.³⁹⁰ Among the Greeks it was sacred to Apollo;³⁹¹ but we do not recollect to have seen it on any monuments of their art, though other birds of prey, such as the eagle and cormorant, frequently occur.³⁹² The eagle is sometimes represented fighting with a serpent, and sometimes destroying a hare;³⁹³ which, being the most prolific of all quadrupeds, was probably the emblem of fertility.³⁹⁴ In these compositions the eagle must have represented the destroying attribute; but, when alone, it probably meant the same as the Ægyptian hawk: whence it was the usual symbol of the supreme God, in whom the Greeks united the three great attributes of creation, preservation, and destruction. The ancient Scandinavians placed it upon the head of their god Thor, as they did the bull upon his breast,³⁹⁵ to signify the same union of attributes; which we sometimes find in subordinate personifications among the Greeks. On the ancient Phœnician coins above cited, an eagle perches on the sceptre, and the head of a bull projects

³⁷⁸ Plutarch. p. 355. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 13.

³⁷⁹ Ω. 527.

³⁸⁰ Εργ. 6.

³⁸¹ Pausan. in Attic. c. 40. 3.

³⁸² Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 518.

³⁸³ Ζεύς ἔσσανον, δύο μὲν, ἣ πέφυκεν, ἔχον οφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου· τούτων τὸν Δία Πριάμῃ φασιν εἶναι τῇ Λαοαῖοντος πατρὶν. Pausan. Cor. c. 24. s. 5.

³⁸⁴ Hymn. lxxii. ed. Gesner.

³⁸⁵ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 248.

³⁸⁶ V. 139, &c.

³⁸⁷ Κυκλωπας τας εγκυκλιους δυναμεις. Schol. vet. ibid.

The two lines 144-5 in the text, containing the etymology of the name, appear to be spurious; the licentious extended form *εἰς* being incompatible with the language of the old poets.

³⁸⁸ See Houel Voyage en Sicile, pl. cxxvii, et Damm. Lex.

³⁸⁹ Εὐ Ἐρμηνεῖαι δὲ Τυφῶνος ἀγάλμα δικυκλονος ἵππου ποταμίου· ἐφ' οὗ βιβζικον ἱεραῖς οφει μαχόμενος· τῇ μὲν ἱππῇ τὸν Τυφῶνα δικυκλνντες, τῇ δὲ ἱεραὶ δύναμιν αὐ ἀρχν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 371. fol.

³⁹⁰ Γραφεῖται καὶ ἱεραὶ τὸν θεὸν τούτων (Οσίριν) πολλαί. Ibid.

³⁹¹ Aristoph. Ορνιθ. v. 516.

³⁹² The latter on the coins of Agrigentum, as the symbol of Hercules: the former, as the symbol of Jupiter, is the most common of all devices.

³⁹³ See coins of Chalcis in Euboea, of Elia, Agrigentum, Croto, &c.

³⁹⁴ See coins of Messina, Rhegium, &c. It was also deemed aphrodisiac and androgynous. See Philostrat. Imag.

³⁹⁵ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 300. and 321.

from the chair of a sitting figure of Jupiter, similar in all respects to that on the coins of the Macedonian kings supposed to be copied from the statue by Phidias at Olympia, the composition of which appears to be of earlier date.

109. In the Bacchæ of Euripides, the chorus invoke their inspiring god *to appear under the form of a bull, a many-headed serpent, or a flaming lion*;³⁹⁶ and we sometimes find the lion among the accessory symbols of Bacchus; though it is most commonly the emblem of Hercules or Apollo; it being the natural representative of the destroying attribute. Hence it is found upon the sepulchral monuments of almost all nations both of Europe and Asia; even in the coldest regions, at a vast distance from the countries in which the animal is capable of existing in its wild state.³⁹⁷ Not only the tombs but likewise the other sacred edifices and utensils of the Greeks, Romans, Chinese and Tartars, are adorned with it; and in Thibet there is no religious structure without a lion's head at every angle having bells pendent from the lower jaw, though there is no contiguous country that can supply the living model.³⁹⁸

110. Sometimes the lion is represented killing some other symbolical animal such as the bull, the horse, or the deer; and these compositions occur not only upon the coins and other sacred monuments of the Greeks and Phœnicians;³⁹⁹ but upon those of the Persians,⁴⁰⁰ and the Tartar tribes of Upper Asia;⁴⁰¹ in all which they express different modifications of the ancient mystic dogma above mentioned concerning the adverse efforts of the two great attributes of procreation and destruction.

111. The horse was sacred to Neptune and the Rivers;⁴⁰² and employed as a general symbol of the waters, on account of a supposed affinity, which we do not find that modern naturalists have observed.⁴⁰³ Hence came the composition, so frequent upon the Carthaginian coins, of the horse with the asterisk of the Sun, or the winged disc and hooded snakes, over his back;⁴⁰⁴ and also the use made of him as an emblematical device on the medals of many Greek cities.⁴⁰⁵ In some instances the body of the animal terminates in plumes;⁴⁰⁶ and in others has only wings, so as to form the Pegasus, fabled by the later Greek poets to have been ridden by Bellerophon, but only known to the ancient theogonists as the bearer of Aurora and of the thunder and lightning to Jupiter;⁴⁰⁷ an allegory of which the meaning is obvious. The Centaur appears to have been the same symbol partly humanised; whence the fable of these fictitious beings having been begotten upon a cloud appears to be an allegory of the same kind.⁴⁰⁸ In the ancient bronze engraved in plate lxxv. of volume i. of the Select Specimens, a figure of one is represented bearing the Cornucopie between Hercules and Æsculapius, the powers of destruction and preservation; so that it here manifestly represents the generative or productive attribute. A symbolical figure similar to that of the Centaur occurs among the hieroglyphical sculptures of the magnificent temple of Isis at Tentyris in Ægypt;⁴⁰⁹ and also one of the Pegasus or the winged horse;⁴¹⁰ nor does the winged bull, the cherub of the Hebrews, appear to be any other than an Ægyptian symbol, of which a prototype is preserved in the ruins of

³⁹⁶ Φανθη, ταυρος, η πολυκεφαλός γ' ἔδειν
ἔρακων, η πυρίφλεγων
ἄρασθαι λέων. V. 1015.

κρίας, ταυρίους, χαράσσοντι λιόντας
(κεφαλὰς φορὶ ὁ φανης Ὀρφεός). Procl. apud Eschenb. Epig. p. 77.

³⁹⁷ Hist. gén. des Voyages, t. v. p. 458. Embassy to Tibet. p. 262. Houel Voyage en Sicile.

³⁹⁸ Embassy to Tibet. p. 288.

³⁹⁹ See the coins of Acanthus and Velia; and also those of some unknown city of Phœnicia. Houel Voyage en Sicile, pl. xxxv. and vi.

⁴⁰⁰ Ruins of Persepolis by Le Bruyn, vol. ii. pl. cxxvi.

⁴⁰¹ On old brass coins in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight. On a small silver coin of Acanthus in the same cabinet, where there was not room for the lion on the back of the bull, as in the larger, the bull has the face of a lion.

⁴⁰² Virgil Georg. i. 12. and iii. 122. Iliad. φ. 132.

⁴⁰³ Φιλόλουτρον ζῶον, ὁ ἵππος, καὶ φιλόδραν, καὶ χεῖρες λεῖψμοι καὶ ἰλσοι. Aristot. apud Eustath. in Hom. p. 658. l. 59.

⁴⁰⁴ See Mus. Hunter, Gesner. &c.; the coins being extremely common.

⁴⁰⁵ Cyrenè, Syracuse, Maronea, Erythræ in Boœtia, &c. &c.

⁴⁰⁶ As on those of Lampascus.

⁴⁰⁷ Lycophr. Alexandr. 17.

Ζῆνος ἔνδον ὄρωσιν ναιῖ

Βροντῆν τε Στεῖροσιν τε φέρων Δαίμνηταινι. Hesiod. Theogon. v. 285.

The history of Bellerophon is fully related in the Iliad (Z. 155. &c.); but of his riding a flying horse, the old poet knew nothing.

⁴⁰⁸ According to another fable preserved by Nonnus, they were begotten by Jupiter on the Earth, in an unsuccessful attempt upon the chastity of Venus.

Οὐ Πόφης τοσόν ἤλδον ἐς ἡμέραν, ὅς χερσιν εὖρος

Κενταύρους ἐφύτισσι, βάλων σπορόν αὐλακὶ γαῖας. Dionysiac. lib. xxxii. l. 23.

⁴⁰⁹ Denon. pl. cxxxi. n. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Ib. pl. cxxxi. n. 3.

Hermontis.⁴¹¹ The disguised indications, too, of wings and horns on each side of the conic or pyramidal cap of Osiris are evident traces of the animal symbol of the winged bull.⁴¹²

112. On the very ancient coins found near the banks of the Strymon in Thrace, and falsely attributed to the island of Lesbos, the equine symbol appears entirely humanised, except the feet, which are terminated in the hoofs of a horse: but on others, apparently of the same date and country, the Centaur is represented in the same action; namely, that of embracing a large and comely woman. In a small bronze of very ancient sculpture, the same priapic personage appears, differing a little in his composition; he having the tail and ears, as well as the feet of a horse, joined to a human body, together with a goat's beard;⁴¹³ and in the Dionysiacs of Nonnus we find such figures described under the title of Satyrs; which all other writers speak of as a mixture of the goat and man. These, he says, were of the race of the Centaurs; with whom they made a part of the retinue of Bacchus in his Indian expedition;⁴¹⁴ and they were probably the original Satyrs derived from Saturn, who is fabled to have appeared under the form of a horse in his addresses to Philyra the daughter of the Ocean;⁴¹⁵ and who, having been the chief deity of the Carthaginians, is probably the personage represented by that animal on their coins.⁴¹⁶ That these equine Satyrs should have been introduced among the attendants of Bacchus, either in poetry or sculpture, is perfectly natural; as they were personifications of the generative or productive attribute equally with the Πανισκοι, or those of a caprine form; wherefore we find three of them on the handle of the very ancient Dionysiac patera terminating in his symbol of the Minotaur in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight. In the sculptures, however, they are invariably without horns; whereas Nonnus calls them κροσσες and ενκεραεις: but the authority of this turgid and bombastic compiler of fables and allegories is not great. The Saturn of the Romans, and probably of the Phœnicians, seems to have been the personification of an attribute totally different from that of the Κρονος of the Greeks, and to have derived his Latin name from *Sator*, the sower or planter; which accords with the character of Pan, Silenus, or Sylvanus, with which that of Neptune, or humidity, is combined. Hence, on the coins of Naxos in Sicily, we find the figure usually called Silenus with the tail and ears of a horse, sometimes priapic, and sometimes with the priapic term of the Pelasgian Mercury as an adjunct, and always with the head of Bacchus on the reverse. Hence the equine and caprine Satyrs, Fauns, and Πανισκοι, seem to have had nearly the same meaning, and to have respectively differed in different stages and styles of allegorical composition only by having more or less of the animal symbol mixed with the human forms, as the taurine figures of Bacchus and the Rivers have more or less of the original bull. Where the legs and horns of the goat are retained, they are usually called Satyrs; and where only the ears and tail, Fauns; and, as this distinction appears to have been observed by the best Latin writers, we see no reason to depart from it, or to suppose, with some modern antiquaries, that Lucretius and Horace did not apply properly the terms of their own language to the symbols of their own religion.⁴¹⁷ The baldness always imputed to Silenus is perhaps best explained by the quotation below.⁴¹⁸

113. In the Orphic hymns we find a goddess 'Ιππα celebrated as the nurse of the generator Bacchus, and the soul of the world;⁴¹⁹ and, in a cave of Phigalea in Arcadia, the daughter of Ceres by Neptune was represented with the head of a horse, having serpents and other animals upon it, and holding

⁴¹¹ Denon. pl. cxxix. n. 2.

⁴¹² See pl. ii. vol. i. of the Select Specimens.

⁴¹³ Inaccurately described in the *Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce*, in note. vol. i. p. 134.; M. D'Hancarville having been misled by his system into a supposition that the animal parts are those of a bull. The figure is now in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁴¹⁴ Lib. xiii. and xiv.

⁴¹⁵ Talis et ipse jubam cervice effundit equinā
Conjugis adventa pernix Saturnus, et altum
Pelion hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto.

Virg. Georg. iii. 92.

⁴¹⁶ These are probably the personages represented on the Thracian or Macedonian coins above cited; but the Saturn of both seems to have answered rather to the Neptune of the Greeks, than to the personification of Time, commonly called ΚΡΟΝΟΣ or Saturn. The figure represented mounted upon a winged horse terminating in a fish, and riding upon the waters, with a bow in his hand, is probably the same personage. See *Méd. Phén. de Dutens*. pl. i. f. i. The coin is better preserved in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁴¹⁷ Bassirilevi di Roma, vol. ii. p. 149. not. 14.

⁴¹⁸ 'Όκοιοι φαλακροί γίνονται, οἷοι δὲ φλεγματοδεις εἰσι' καὶ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῶν ἅμα τῇ λαγχτῇ κλονομένοι καὶ θερμαινομένοι το φλεγμα, προσπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἐπιδερμίδα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὰς ρίζας, καὶ ἐκρῶσιν αἱ τριχες. Οἱ δὲ ἐννοῦσι διὰ τοῦτο οὐ γίνονται φαλακροί, ἀλλ' ὅτι σφῶν οὐ γίνονται κνησις ἰσχυρὰ' κ. τ. λ. Hippocrat. de N. P. s. xviii. xix. Φλεγμα is not to be understood here, as translated, *pituita*, *phlegma*, or *morbid rheum*, but *animal viscus* or *gluten*, the material of organisation.

The bald Jupiter, Ζεὺς φαλακρός, of the Argives, mentioned by Clemens (Cohort. s. ii. p. 33. ed. Potter.) seems to have signified the same.

⁴¹⁹ Hyman. xlviii., and Fragni. No. xliii.

upon one hand a dolphin, and upon the other a dove;⁴⁵⁹ the meaning of which symbols, Pausanias observes, were evident to every learned and intelligent man; though he does not choose to relate it, any more than the name of this goddess;⁴⁶¹ they being both probably mystic. The title 'ΙΗΠΙΟΣ or 'ΙΗΠΙΑ was applied to several deities;⁴⁶² and occasionally even to living sovereigns, whom flattery had decked out with divine attributes; as appears in the instance of Arsinoë the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was honored with it.⁴⁶³ One of the most solemn forms of adjuration in use among the ancient inhabitants of Sweden and Norway was by the shoulder of the horse;⁴⁶⁴ and when Tyndarus engaged the suitors of Helen to defend and avenge her, he is said to have made them swear upon the testicles of the same animal.⁴⁶⁵

114. In an ancient piece of marble sculpture in relief, Jupiter is represented reposing upon the back of a Centaur, who carries a deer in his hand; by which singular composition is signified, not Jupiter going to hunt, as antiquaries have supposed;⁴⁶⁶ but the all-pervading Spirit, or supreme active principle incumbent upon the waters, and producing fertility; or whatever property or modification of properties the deer was meant to signify. Diana, of whom it was a symbol, was in the original planetary and elementary worship, the Moon; but in the mystic religion, she appears to have been a personification of the all-pervading Spirit acting through the Moon upon the Earth and the waters. Hence she comprehended almost every other female personification, and has innumerable titles and symbols expressive of almost every attribute, whether of creation, preservation, or destruction; as appears from the Pantheic figures of her; such as she was worshipped in the celebrated temple of Ephesus, of which many are extant. Among the principal of these symbols is the deer, which also appears among the accessory symbols of Bacchus; and which is sometimes blended into one figure with the goat, so as to form a composite fictitious animal called a Tragelephus; of which there are several examples now extant.⁴⁶⁷ The very ancient colossal statue of the androgynous Apollo near Miletus, of which there is an engraving from an ancient copy in the Select Specimens, pl. xii. carried a deer in the right hand, and on a very early gold coin probably of Ephesus a male beardless head is represented with the horns of the same animal;⁴⁶⁸ whence we suspect that the metamorphose of Actæon, like many other similar fables, arose from some such symbolical composition.

115. It is probable therefore that the lion devouring the horse, represents the diurnal heat of the Sun exhaling the waters; and devouring the deer, the same heat withering and putrefying the productions of the earth; both of which, though immediately destructive, are preparatory to reproduction: for the same fervent rays which scorch and wither, clothe the earth with verdure, and mature all its fruits. As they dry up the waters in one season, so they return them in another, causing fermentation and putrefaction, which make one generation of plants and animals the means of producing another in regular and unceasing progression; and thus constitute that varied yet uniform harmony in the succession of causes and effects, which is the principle of general order and economy in the operations of nature. The same meaning was signified by a composition more celebrated in poetry, though less frequent in art, of Hercules destroying a Centaur; who is sometimes distinguished, as in the ancient coins above cited, by the pointed goat's beard.

116. This universal harmony is represented, on the frieze of the temple of Apollo Didymæus near Miletus, by the lyre supported by two symbolical figures composed of the mixed forms and features of the goat and the lion, each of which rests one of its fore feet upon it.⁴⁶⁹ The poets expressed the

⁴⁵⁹ Τεχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Δημητρος (ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδωνος) οἱ Φεγαλῆς φασιν οὐχ ἴππου, ἀλλὰ τὴν Διόσφοιν ἐποννομαζομένην ὑπὸ Ἀρεαδῶν.—Pausan. Arcad. c. xlii. s. 2.

Τὸ τε σπῆλαιον νομισαὶ τοῦτο ἱερόν Δημητρος, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἀγάλμα ἀναβαίνει ξύλον· πεποισθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἀγαλμα· καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ, γυναικὶ δὲ κοίκεναι τὰ ἄλλα πλὴν κεφαλῆν' κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ κομὴν εἶχεν ἴππου, καὶ ἐρακόντων τε καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων εὐκρινες προσιπτεύοντων τῇ κεφαλῇ· χίτων δὲ ἐνδεδυτο καὶ ἀκροῦς τοὺς ποδας· διόφως δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς χυμὸς ἦν αὐτῇ, περιστέρα δὲ ἡ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ. Pausan. Arcad. c. xlii. s. 3.

⁴⁶¹ Τῆς δὲ Διόσφοιν τὸ ὄνομα εἰδῆσαι ἐς τοὺς ἀντικειμένους γράφειν. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxxvii. s. 6.

⁴⁶² Near the Academia in Attica was an altar Ποσειδωνος Ἰππιον, καὶ Ἀθηνας Ἰππίας. Pausan. in Attic. c. xxx. s. 4. Ποσειδωνος Ἰππιον καὶ Ἡρας ἱεῖον Ἰππίας βωμοί—τῇ μὲν Ἀρείᾳ Ἰππιον, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ Ἰππίας βωμός. Pausan. Eliac. l. c. xv. s. 4. Καὶ Ἀθῆνας βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγίης τῆς Ἰππιαν Ἀθῆναν ὀνομαζούσης, καὶ Διονυσίου Μελπομένης, καὶ Κισσίου τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν. Pausan. in Attic. c. xxxi. s. 3.

⁴⁶³ Hesych. in v. Ἰππια.

⁴⁶⁴ Pausan. in Lacon. c. xx. s. 9.

⁴⁶⁵ Mallet. Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemarck.

⁴⁶⁶ Winkelmann Monument. Antic. ined. No. ii.

⁴⁶⁷ Τραγελεφῶν προτομὴν ἐκτυπῆς were among the ornaments of the magnificent hearse, in which the body of Alexander the Great was conveyed from Babylon to Alexandria (Diodor. Sic. l. xviii. 26. ed. Wesseling.); where it was deposited in a shrine or coffin of solid gold; which having been melted down and carried away during the troubles by which Ptolemy IX. was expelled, a glass one was substituted and exhibited in its place in the time of Strabo. See Geogr. l. xvii. p. 794.

⁴⁶⁸ In the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight.

⁴⁶⁹ See Ionian Antiquities published by the Society of Dilettanti, vol. i. c. iii. pl. ix.

same meaning in their allegorical tales of the loves of Mars and Venus; from which sprang the goddess Harmony,⁴⁵⁰ represented by the lyre;⁴⁵¹ which, according to the Ægyptians, was strung by Mercury with the sinews of Typhon.⁴⁵²

117. The fable of Ceres and Proserpine is the same allegory inverted: for Proserpine or Περσεφόνη, who, as her name indicates, was the goddess of Destruction, is fabled to have sprung from Jupiter and Ceres, the most general personifications of the creative powers. Hence she is called κόρη, *the daughter*; as being the universal daughter, or general secondary principle: for though properly the goddess of Destruction, she is frequently distinguished by the title ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ,⁴⁵³ *Saviour*; and represented with ears of corn upon her head, as the goddess of Fertility. She was, in reality, the personification of the heat or fire supposed to pervade the earth, which was held to be at once the cause and effect of fertility and destruction, as being at once the cause and effect of fermentation; from which both proceed.⁴⁵⁴ The mystic concealment of her operation was expressed by the black veil or bandage upon her head;⁴⁵⁵ which was sometimes dotted with asterisks; whilst the hair, which it enveloped, was made to imitate flames.⁴⁵⁶

118. The Nephthè or Nephthys of the Ægyptians, and the Libitina, or goddess of Death of the Romans, were the same personage: and yet, with both these people, she was the same as Venus and Libera, the goddess of Generation.⁴⁵⁷ Isis was also the same, except that, by the later Ægyptians, the personification was still more generalised, so as to comprehend universal nature; whence Apuleius invokes her by the name of Eleusinian Ceres, Celestial Venus, and Proserpine; and she answers him by a general explanation of these titles. "I am," says she, "Nature, the parent of things, the sovereign of the elements, the primary progeny of time, the most exalted of the deities, the first of the heavenly gods and goddesses, the queen of the shades, the uniform countenance; who dispose with my nod the luminous heights of heaven, the salubrious breezes of the sea, and the mournful silence of the dead; whose single deity the whole world venerates in many forms, with various rites, and many names. The Ægyptians skilled in ancient lore worship me with proper ceremonies; and call me by my true name, Queen Isis."⁴⁵⁸

119. This universal character of the goddess appears, however, to have been subsequent to the Macedonian conquest; when a new modification of the ancient systems of religion and philosophy took place at Alexandria, and spread itself gradually over the world. The statues of this Isis are of a composition and form quite different from those of the ancient Ægyptian goddess; and all that we have seen are of Greek or Roman sculpture. The original Ægyptian figure of Isis is merely the animal symbol of the cow humanised, with the addition of the serpent, disc, or some other accessory emblem: but the Greek and Roman figures of her are infinitely varied, to signify by various symbols the various attributes of universal Nature.⁴⁵⁹ In this character she is confounded with the personifications of Fortune and Victory, which are in reality no other than those of Providence, and therefore

⁴⁵⁰ Εκ δ' Αφροδίτης καὶ Ἀριώος Ἀρμονίαν γιγνομένην μυθολογοῦνται. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 370.

— Ἀρεὰ τε τὸν μαλάρων,
ὡς νῦν ἀχελὺς ἀσπίδων

φλέγει με περιβόητος ἀνταίων. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 190.

This unarmed Mars is the plague: wherefore that god must have been considered as the Destroyer in general, not as the god of War in particular.—σκατοὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρη, καθάπερ ἐν πίνακι χαλεπὴν τὴν ἀντικείμενην ἐκ διαμετροῦ τῆ Ἐρωτὶ χυρῶν ἔχοντα. Plutarch. Amator. p. 757.

⁴⁵¹ Ἦν ἄρρηξεν Ζηνὸς ἐνιδὸς Ἀπολλων,
πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος σὺλλυβον'
ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλεκτρον, ἴλιον φασ. Scythin. apud Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac. p. 402.

⁴⁵² Καὶ τοὶ Ἑρῆαν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐξέλοντα τοῦ Τυφῶνος τὰ νευρά, χορδαὶς χρῆσασθαι, διδασκόντες ὡς τὸ παν ὁ λόγος διαρρησασμένος, συμφωνῶν ἐξ ἀσμφωνῶν μερῶν ἐπιστᾷ, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν οὐκ ἀνελήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἀνέληρωσεν, δύναμιν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 373.

⁴⁵³ See coins of Agathocles, &c.

⁴⁵⁴ Ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος μούνη θυσιὸς πολυμοχθοῖς,
Φερσεφόνην' ἔφηνε γὰρ αἰὶ, καὶ πάντα φονεύει. Orph. Hym. xxix.

⁴⁵⁵ ——— καὶ τὰ κτελαιν
ἀμνηστὴν ἀρρητὸν δάμα Φερσεφόνης. Meleagr. Epigr. cxix. in Brunck. Anal.

⁴⁵⁶ See silver coins of Syracuse, &c.

⁴⁵⁷ Plutarch in Numa.

Νεφθὴν, ἣν καὶ Τελεινὴν καὶ Αφροδίτην, ἐποικὶ δὲ καὶ Νεκρὴν ὀνομαζουσιν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 355.
Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant. Cic. in Verr. A. ii. l. iv. s. 48.

⁴⁵⁸ Metam. lib. xi. p. 257. "En assum, tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, sæculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina manium, prima cœlitum, deorum, dearumque, facies uniformis: quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salubris flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso, cujus numen unicum, multiformum specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. — priscæque doctrinæ pollentes Ægyptii, cærimonias me prorsus propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem."

⁴⁵⁹ See plate lxx. of vol. i. The Ægyptian figures with the horns of the cow, wrought under the Roman empire, are common in all collections of small bronzes.

occasionally decked with all the attributes of universal Power.⁴⁴⁰ The figures of Victory have frequently the antenna or sail-yard of a ship in one hand, and the chaplet or crown of immortality in the other;⁴⁴¹ and those of Fortune, the rudder of a ship in one hand, and the cornucopiae in the other, with the modius or polos on her head;⁴⁴² which ornaments Bupalus of Chios is said to have first given her in a statue made for the Smyræans about the sixtieth Olympiad;⁴⁴³ but both have occasionally Isiac and other symbols.⁴⁴⁴

120. The allegorical tales of the loves and misfortunes of Isis and Osiris are an exact counterpart of those of Venus and Adonis;⁴⁴⁵ which signify the alternate exertion of the generative and destructive attributes. Adonis or 'Adonai was an oriental title of the Sun, signifying Lord; and the boar, supposed to have killed him, was the emblem of Winter;⁴⁴⁶ during which the productive powers of nature being suspended, Venus was said to lament the loss of Adonis until he was again restored to life: whence both the Syrian and Argive women annually mourned his death, and celebrated his resurrection;⁴⁴⁷ and the mysteries of Venus and Adonis at Byblus in Syria were held in similar estimation with those of Ceres and Bacchus at Eleusis, and Isis and Osiris in Ægypt.⁴⁴⁸ Adonis was said to pass six months with Proserpine, and six with Venus;⁴⁴⁹ whence, some learned persons have conjectured that the allegory was invented near the pole: where the sun disappears during so long a time:⁴⁵⁰ but it may signify merely the decrease and increase of the productive powers of nature as the sun retires and advances.⁴⁵¹ The Vistnoo or Jaggernaut of the Hindoos is equally said to lie in a dormant state during the four rainy months of that climate:⁴⁵² and the Osiris of the Ægyptians was supposed to be dead or absent forty days in each year, during which the people lamented his loss, as the Syrians did that of Adonis,⁴⁵³ and the Scandinavians that of Frey; though at Upsal, the great metropolis of their worship, the sun never continues any one day entirely below the horizon.⁴⁵⁴ The story of the Phœnix; or, as that fabulous bird was called in the north, of the Fanina, appears to have been an allegory of the same kind, as was also the Phrygian tale concerning Cybelê and Attis; though variously distinguished by the fictions of poets and mythographers.⁴⁵⁵

121. On some of the very ancient Greek coins of Acanthus in Macedonia we find a lion killing a boar;⁴⁵⁶ and in other monuments a dead boar appears carried in solemn procession;⁴⁵⁷ by both which was probably meant the triumph of Adonis in the destruction of his enemy at the return of spring. A young pig was also the victim offered preparatory to initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries,⁴⁵⁸ which seems to have been intended to express a similar compliment to the Sun. The Phrygian Attis, like the Syrian Adonis, was fabled to have been killed by a boar; or, according to

⁴⁴⁰ Ἀπαντα δ' ἴσα νοοῦμεν, γρουν πραττοῦμεν,
Τυχὴ ὅτιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἰσμεν ἐπιγέγραμμένοι.
Τυχὴ κυβέρου πάντα ταντην καὶ φρίνας
Δαί, καὶ προνοῖαν, τὴν θεῶν, καλὴν μοῖρην,
Εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλως ὀνομασθαι χεῖρει κενός. Menandr. Fragm. p. 182. ed. Leclerc.

Εγὼ μὲν οὖν Πυθάρου τα τε ἄλλα πύθομαι τῇ ψῆφ, καὶ Μοῖρῶν τε εἶναι μὲν τὴν Τυχὴν, καὶ ὅπερ τὰς ἀδελφὰς τε ἰσχυμέν. Pausan. in Achaic. c. xxvi. s. 3.

⁴⁴¹ See medals, in gold, of Alexander the Great, &c.

⁴⁴² Bronzi d'Ercolano. tom. ii. tav. xxviii.

⁴⁴³ Πρωτὸς δὲ, ὡς οὐδὲ, ἐποιήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστῶν Ὀμήρως Τυχὴς μνημὴν' ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐκ τὴν Διμήτρα. (Vide v. §17. et seq.) — καὶ Τυχὴν ὡς Ὀκεανὸν καὶ ταντην ποῖδα οὐσαν (i. e. Νυμφὴν Ὀκεανίδαν). — πῆρα δὲ ἐδῆλυνεν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ, ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ μυστῆθι θινὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασι, καὶ ἰσχυρὴν παρὶχται πλίστην. — Βονταλὸς δὲ — Σμυρναῖος ἀγαλῆα ἐργαζόμενος Τυχὴς πρώτος ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἰσμεν, πῶλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τῇ ἱστῇ χεῖρι τὸ καλονόμενον Ἀμάλθιαν κίρας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. — ῥηὶ δὲ καὶ ὁστρον Πυθάρως ἄλλα τε ἐκ τὴν Τυχὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Φιρεκόλιν ἀνεκάλισεν αὐτήν. Pausan. in Messen. c. xxx. s. 3 et 4. Pindar. in Fragm.

⁴⁴⁴ Bronzi d'Ercolano. tom. ii. tav. xxvi. Medals of Leucadia.

⁴⁴⁵ Ὅστιν οὐτα καὶ Ἀδωνιν ὅμον κατα μυστικὴν θεωροῦσαν. Suidas in voce διαγυνῶν.

⁴⁴⁶ Hesych. in v. Μαστόβ. Sat. i. c. xxi. τὸν δ' Ἀδωνιν οὐχ' ἔτερον, ἀλλὰ Διονύσου εἶναι νομίζουσι. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. iv. qu. v.

⁴⁴⁷ Lucian. de Dea Syria. s. 8. Pausan. Corinth. c. xx. s. 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Lucian. ib. s. 6.

⁴⁴⁹ Λέγουσι δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀδωνιδος, ὅτι καὶ ἀποθανῶν, ἐξ ἡμέρας ἐποίησεν ἐν ἀγκαλαῖς Ἀφροδίτης, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκαλαῖς τῆς Περσιφόνης. Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. 111.

⁴⁵⁰ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantic. No. ii. c. iii. p. 34. Bailly Hist. de l'Astronomie Ancienne.

⁴⁵¹ Φροντὶς δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χιμῶνος καθέδωκεν, θύρας δ' ἐργαζομένη, τότε μὲν κατεννασμένη, τότε δ' ἀνέγεραις, βαλκωνοῖς αὐτῇ τίλουσι. Παράλογον δὲ καταδύσθαι καὶ καθυργγυῖσθαι χιμῶνος, πρὸς δὲ κινῆσθαι καὶ ἀνελῆσθαι, φασκεῖν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. Ut lacrymare cultrices Veneris sepe spectantur in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris, quod simulacrum aliquod esse frugum adultarum religionis mystice docent. Am. Marcellin. lib. xix. c. i.

⁴⁵² Holwell. Part ii. p. 125.

⁴⁵³ Theophrast. ad Autolyc. lib. i. p. 75.

⁴⁵⁴ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantic. p. ii. c. v. p. 153.

⁴⁵⁵ See Ol. Rudbeck, p. ii. c. iii. et v. Nonni Dionys. M. 396.

⁴⁵⁶ Pelerin. vol. i. pl. xxx. No. 17.

⁴⁵⁷ On a marble fragment in relief in the Townley collection.

⁴⁵⁸ Aristoph. Εἰρην. 374.

another tradition, by Mars in the shape of that animal;⁴⁵⁵ and his death and resurrection were annually celebrated in the same manner.⁴⁵⁶ The beauty of his person, and the style of his dress, caused his statues to be confounded with those of Paris, who appears also to have been canonised; and it is probable that a symbolical composition representing him in the act of fructifying nature, attended by Power and Wisdom, gave rise to the story of the Trojan prince's adjudging the prize of beauty between the three contending goddesses; a story, which appears to have been wholly unknown to the ancient poets, who have celebrated the events of the war supposed to have arisen from it. The fable of Ganymede, the cup-bearer of Jupiter, seems to have arisen from some symbolical composition of the same kind, at first misunderstood, and afterwards misrepresented in poetical fiction: for the lines in the *Iliad* alluding to it, are, as before observed, spurious; and according to Pindar, the most orthodox perhaps of all the poets, Ganymede was not the son of Laomedon, but a mighty genius or deity who regulated or caused the overflowings of the Nile by the motion of his feet.⁴⁶¹ His being, therefore, the cup-bearer of Jupiter means no more than that he was the distributor of the waters between heaven and earth, and consequently a distinct personification of that attribute of the supreme God, which is otherwise signified by the epithet Pluvius. Hence he is only another modification of the same personification, as Attis, Adonis, and Bacchus; who are all occasionally represented holding the cup or patera; which is also given, with the cornucopie, to their subordinate emanations, the local genii; of which many small figures in brass are now extant.

122. In the poetical tales of the ancient Scandinavians, Frey, the deity of the Sun, was fabled to have been killed by a boar; which was therefore annually offered to him at the great feast of Juul, celebrated during the winter solstice.⁴⁶² Boars of paste were also served on their tables during that feast; which, being kept till the following spring, were then beaten to pieces and mixed with the seeds to be sown and with the food of the cattle and hinds employed in tilling the ground.⁴⁶³ Among the Ægyptians likewise, those who could not afford to sacrifice real pigs, had images of them in paste served up at the feasts of Bacchus and Osiris;⁴⁶⁴ which seem, like the feasts of Adonis in Syria, and the Juul in Sweden, to have been expiatory solemnities meant to honor and conciliate the productive power of the Sun by the symbolical destruction of the adverse or inert power. From an ancient fragment preserved by Plutarch, it seems that Mars, considered as the destroyer, was represented by a boar among the Greeks;⁴⁶⁵ and on coins we find him wearing the boar's, as Hercules wears the lion's skin,⁴⁶⁶ in both of which instances the old animal symbol is humanised, as almost all the animal symbols gradually were by the refinement of Grecian art.

123. From this symbolical use of the boar to represent the destroying, or rather the anti-generative attribute, probably arose the abhorrence of swine's flesh; which prevailed universally among the Ægyptians and Jews; and partially in other countries, particularly in Pontus; where the temple of Venus at Comana was kept so strictly pure from the pollution of such enemies, that a pig was never admitted into the city.⁴⁶⁷ The Ægyptians are said also to have signified the inert power of Typhon by an ass;⁴⁶⁸ but among the ancient inhabitants of Italy, and probably among the Greeks, this animal appears to have been a symbol of an opposite kind;⁴⁶⁹ and is therefore perpetually found in the retinue of Bacchus: the dismemberment of whom by the Titans, was an allegory of the same kind as the death of Adonis and Attis by the boar, and the dismemberment of Osiris by Typhon;⁴⁷⁰ whence his festivals were in the spring;⁴⁷¹ and at Athens, as well as in Ægypt, Syria, and Phrygia, the ΑΦΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ και ΕΥΡΕΣΙΣ, or death and resurrection, were celebrated, the one with lamentation, and the other with rejoicing.⁴⁷²

⁴⁵⁵ ———— επι σινος ικονι μορφης
Αρης κερχαιοδον θανατηφορον του ιαλλων
Ζηλομανης ημιλλεν Αδωνιδι ποτμον υφαινειν. Nonni Dionys. lib. xli. 209.

⁴⁵⁶ Strabo. lib. x. p. 323. Julian. Orat. v. p. 316.

⁴⁵⁷ Του Γανυμηδων γαρ αυτων εφασαν οι περι Πινδαρον, ικατονοτοργιων ανδριαντα, αφ' ου της κινήσεως των ποδων τον νυλον πλημμυριεν. Schol. in Arat. Phenom. v. 282.

⁴⁵⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. part i. c. v. viii. and a. part ii. c. v.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid. and fig. i. p. 229.

⁴⁶⁰ Herodot. ii. 47. Macrobi. Sat. i. c. xxi. Of the same kind are the small votive boars in brass; of which several have been found: and one of extreme beauty is in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight.

⁴⁶¹ Τυφλος γαρ, ω γυναικας, ουδ' ορον Αρης
Σινος προσωπη παντα τυρβαζει κακα. Amator. p. 757.

⁴⁶² See brass coins of Rome, common in all collections.

⁴⁶³ Strabo. lib. xli. p. 575.

⁴⁶⁴ Ælian. de Anim. lib. x. c. xxviii.

⁴⁶⁵ Juvenal. Sat. xi. 96. Colum. x. 344.

⁴⁶⁶ Τα γαρ δε περι του Διονυσου μεταβημενα παθη του διημιλτισμου, και τα Τιτανων εν' αυτον τολμηματα, γενομενων τε του φονου κολασεις (τε τουτων delendi) και κεραινωσεις, ηνιγεμνος εστι μυθος εις την παλιγγενεσιν. Plutarch. de Carn. Orat. i. p. 996.

⁴⁶⁷ Οικ απο τροπον μυθολογουσι την Οσιριδος ψυχην αιδισαι κιναι και αρθαιρον, το δε σωμα πολλας διασπεν και αφαιρουν τον Τυφωνα. Id. de Is. et Osir.

⁴⁶⁸ ηρι τ' επερχομενη Βρομια χαρις. Arist. Nubes. 310.

⁴⁶⁹ Demosth. περι Στεφ. p. 668. Jul. Firmic. p. 14. ed. Ouz.

124. The stories of Prometheus were equally allegorical: for Prometheus was only a title of the Sun expressing providence,⁴⁷⁵ or foresight: wherefore his being bound in the extremities of the earth, signified originally no more than the restriction of the power of the sun during the winter months; though it has been variously embellished and corrupted by the poets; partly, perhaps, from symbolical compositions ill understood: for the vulture might have been naturally employed as an emblem of the destroying power. Another emblem of this power, much distinguished in the ancient Scandinavian mythology, was the wolf; who in the last day was expected to devour the sun.⁴⁷⁶ and among the symbolical ornaments of a ruined mystic temple at Puzzuoli, we find a wolf devouring grapes; which, being the fruit peculiarly consecrated to Bacchus, are not unfrequently employed to signify that god. Lycopolis in Ægypt takes its name from the sacred wolf kept there;⁴⁷⁷ and upon the coins of Carthæa in the island of Ceos, the fore part of this animal appears surrounded with diverging rays, as the centre of an asterisk.⁴⁷⁸

125. As putrefaction was the most general means of natural destruction or dissolution, the same spirit of superstition, which turned every other operation of nature into an object of devotion, consecrated it to the personification of the destroying power: whence, in the mysteries and other sacred rites belonging to the generative attributes, every thing putrid, or that had a tendency to putridity, was carefully avoided; and so strict were the Ægyptian priests upon this point, that they wore no garments made of any animal substance; but circumcised themselves, and shaved their whole bodies even to their eye-brows, lest they should unknowingly harbour any filth, excrement, or vermin supposed to be bred from putrefaction.⁴⁷⁹ The common fly being, in its first stage of existence, a principal agent in dissolving and dissipating all putrescent bodies, it was adopted as an emblem of the Deity to represent the destroying attribute: whence the Baal-Zebub, or Jupiter Fly of the Phœnicians, when admitted into the creed of the Jews, received the rank and office of prince of the devils. The symbol was humanised at an early period, probably by the Phœnicians themselves; and thus formed into one of those fantastic compositions, which ignorant antiquaries have taken for wild efforts of disordered imagination, instead of regular productions of systematic art.⁴⁸⁰

126. Bacchus frequently appears accompanied by leopards;⁴⁸¹ which in some instances are employed in devouring clusters of grapes, and in others drinking the liquor pressed from them; though they are in reality incapable of feeding upon that or any other kind of fruit. On a very ancient coin of Acanthus, too, the leopard is represented, instead of the lion, destroying the bull:⁴⁸² wherefore we have no doubt that in the Bacchic processions, it means the destroyer accompanying the generator; and contributing, by different means, to the same end. In some instances his chariot is drawn by two leopards, and in others by a leopard and a goat coupled together:⁴⁸³ which are all different means of signifying different modes and combinations of the same ideas. In the British Museum is a group in marble of three figures, the middle one a human form growing out of a vine, with leaves and clusters of grapes growing out of its body. On one side is an androgynous figure representing the Mises or Bacchus *διφύνης*; and on the other a leopard, with a garland of ivy round its neck, leaping up and devouring the grapes, which spring from the body of the personified vine; the hands of which are employed in receiving another cluster from the Bacchus. This composition represents the vine between the creating and destroying attributes of the Deity; the one giving it fruit, and the other devouring it when given. The poets conveyed the same meaning in the allegorical tales of the Loves of Bacchus and Ampelus; who, as the name indicates, was only the vine personified.

127. The Chimera, of which so many whimsical interpretations have been given by the commentators on the Iliad, seems to have been an emblematical composition of the same class, veiled, as usual, under historical fable to conceal its meaning from the vulgar. It was composed of the forms of the goat, the lion, and the serpent; the symbols of the generator, destroyer, and preserver united

⁴⁷⁵ Pindar. Olymp. Z. 81.

⁴⁷⁶ Lupus devorabit
Seculorum patrem. Edda Sæmundi. liii.

See also Mallet Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemarck. c. vi.

⁴⁷⁷ Macrob. Sat. i. c. xvii.

⁴⁷⁸ The wolf is also the device on those of Argos.

⁴⁷⁹ Εσθια δὲ φοροῦσι οἱ ἱερεῖς λινεὴν μουνήν, καὶ ὑποδήματα βιβλινὰ. Herodot. lib. ii. s. 37. Τα τε αἰδοῖα περσέμενοι καθεστρίοντες ἵνικεν. Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἐκτείνονται παντὸς τοῦ σώματος διατριπτεῖς ἡμέρας, ἵνα μὴτε φθῇ, μὴτε ἄλλο μυστῶν μὲν ἐγγιγνῆται σφί θρασυνοῦσι τοῖς θεοῖς. Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ See Winkelman Mon. ant. ined. No. 18; and Hist. des Arts, Liv. iii. c. ii. p. 148.

⁴⁸² These are frequently called tigers: but the first tiger seen by the Romans, perhaps even by the Greeks, was presented by the ambassadors of India to Augustus, while settling the affairs of Asia, in the year of Rome 734. Dion. Cass. Hist. lib. liv. s. 9.

⁴⁸³ In the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁴⁸⁴ See medal of Maronea. Gesner. tab. xliii. fig. 26.

and animated by fire, the essential principle of all the three. The old poet had probably seen such a figure in Asia; but knowing nothing of mystic lore, which does not appear to have reached Greece or her colonies in his time, received whatever was told him concerning it. In later times, however, it must have been a well-known sacred symbol; or it would not have been employed as a device upon coins.

128. The fable of Apollo destroying the serpent Python, seems equally to have originated from the symbolical language of imitative art; the title Apollo signifying, according to the etymology already given, the destroyer as well as the deliverer: for, as the ancients supposed destruction to be merely dissolution, as creation was merely formation, the power which delivered the particles of matter from the bonds of attraction, and broke the *δεσμον περιέσθρη σρωτος*, was in fact the destroyer. Hence the verb *ΛΥΩ* or *ΛΥΜΙ*, from which it is derived, means both to free and to destroy.⁴⁶³ Pliny mentions a statue of Apollo by Praxiteles, much celebrated in his time, called *ΣΑΥΠΟΚΤΟΝΟΣ*,⁴⁶⁴ the lizard-killer, of which several copies are now extant.⁴⁶⁵ The lizard, being supposed to exist upon the dews and moisture of the earth, was employed as the symbol of humidity; so that the god destroying it, signifies the same as the lion devouring the horse, and Hercules killing the centaur; that is, the sun exhaling the waters. When destroying the serpent, he only signifies a different application of the same power to the extinction of life; whence he is called *ΠΥΘΙΟΣ*,⁴⁶⁶ or the putrifier, from the verb *ΠΥΘΩ*. The title *ΣΜΙΝΘΕΥΣ* too, supposing it to mean, according to the generally received interpretation, mouse-killer, was expressive of another application of the same attribute: for the mouse was a priapic animal;⁴⁶⁷ and is frequently employed as such in monuments of ancient art.⁴⁶⁸ The statue, likewise, which Pausanias mentions of Apollo with his foot upon the head of a bull, is an emblem of similar meaning.⁴⁶⁹

129. The offensive weapons of this deity, which are the symbols of the means by which he exerted his characteristic attribute, are the bow and arrows, signifying the emission of his rays; of which the arrow or dart, the *βέλος* or *αβέλος*, was, as before observed, the appropriate emblem. Hence he is called *ΛΦΗΤΩΡ*, *ΕΚΑΤΟΣ* and *ΕΚΑΤΗΒΟΛΟΣ*; and also, *ΧΡΥΣΑΩΡ* and *ΧΡΥΣΑΟΡΟΣ*; which have a similar signification; the first syllable expressing the golden colour of rays, and the others their erect position: for *αορ* does not signify merely a sword, as a certain writer, upon the authority of common Latin versions and school Lexicons, has supposed; but any thing that is held up; it being the substantive of the verb *αίρω*.

130. Hercules destroying the hydra, signifies exactly the same as Apollo destroying the serpent and the lizard;⁴⁶⁹ the water-snake comprehending both symbols; and the ancient Phœnician Hercules being merely the lion humanised. The knowledge of him appears to have come into Europe by the way of Thrace; he having been worshipped in the island of Thasus, by the Phœnician colony settled there, five generations before the birth of the Theban hero;⁴⁷⁰ who was distinguished by the same title that he obtained in Greece; and whose romantic adventures have been confounded with the allegorical fables related of him. In the Homeric times, he appears to have been utterly unknown to the Greeks, the Hercules of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* being a mere man, pre-eminently distinguished indeed for strength and valour, but exempt from none of the laws of mortality.⁴⁷¹ His original symbolical arms, with which he appears on the most ancient medals of Thasus, were the same as those of Apollo;⁴⁷² and his Greek name, which, according to the most probable etymology signifies the *glorifier of the earth*, is peculiarly applicable to the Sun. The Romans held him to be the same as Mars;⁴⁷³ who was sometimes represented under the same form, and considered as the same deity as Apollo;⁴⁷⁴ and in some instances we find him destroying the vine instead of the serpent,⁴⁷⁵ the deer, the centaur, or

⁴⁶³ See *Iliad* A. 20, & I. 25.

⁴⁶⁴ Lib. xxxiv. c. xix. 10.

⁴⁶⁵ See Winkelman *Mon. ant. ined.* pl. xl.

⁴⁶⁶ *Πυθως απο του πυθεν*, id est *σπενει*. Macrob. Sat. I. c. xvii.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ælian*. Hist. Anim. lib. xii. c. 10.

⁴⁶⁸ It was the device upon the coins of Argos, (*Jul. Poll. onom.* ix. vi. 86.) probably before the adoption of the wolf, which is on most of those now extant. A small one, however, in gold, with the mouse, is in the cabinet of Mr. P. Knight.

⁴⁶⁹ *Και Απολλων χαλκους γυμνος ιεθηςος* ———— *και ιταρω ποδι επι κρανιον βεβηκε βοος*. Pausan. Achaic. c. xx. s. 2.

⁴⁷⁰ *Τη μιν Ήλην τον Ήρακλτα μυθολογουσιν ενδρυμενον συμπερεσσειν*. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 367.

⁴⁷¹ Herodot. lib. ii. c. 44.

⁴⁷² *Iliad* Σ. 117. *Odys.* A. 600. The three following lines, alluding to his deification, have long been discovered to be interpolated.

⁴⁷³ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 688. Athenic. lib. xii. p. 512. The club was given him by the Epic poets, who made the mixed fables of the Theban hero and personified attribute the subjects of their poems.

⁴⁷⁴ Varro apud Macrob. Sat. iii. c. 12.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ες μιν Αητας ο Απολλων* ———— *εκ δε Ήρας ο Αρης γεγεινη* ———— *μια δε επι αφηστειρων δυναμις* ———— *ουκουν η τε Ήρα και η Αητω ζωει μιας θεου προσχηγομαι*. Plutarch. apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. c. i.

⁴⁷⁶ Mus. Florent. in gemm. T. i. pl. xcii. 9.

the bull; by all which the same meaning, a little differently modified, is conveyed: but the more common representation of him destroying the lion is not so easily explained; and it is probable that the traditional history of the deified hero has, in this instance as well as some others, been blended with the allegorical fables of the personified attribute: for we have never seen any composition of this kind upon any monument of remote antiquity.⁴⁹⁶

131. Upon the pillars which existed in the time of Herodotus in different parts of Asia, and which were attributed by the Ægyptians to Sesostriis, and by others to Memnon, was engraved the figure of a man holding a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left; to which was added, upon some of them, *γυναικος αἰδοία*, said by the Ægyptians to have been meant as a memorial of the cowardice and effeminacy of the inhabitants, whom their monarch had subdued.⁴⁹⁷ The whole composition was however, probably, symbolical; signifying the active power of destruction, and passive power of generation; whose co-operation and conjunction are signified in so many various ways in the emblematical monuments of ancient art. The figure holding the spear and the bow is evidently the same as appears upon the ancient Persian coins called Darics, and upon those of some Asiatic cities, in the Persian dress; but which, upon those of others, appears with the same arms, and in the same attitude, with the lion's skin upon its head.⁴⁹⁸ This attitude is that of kneeling upon one knee; which is that of the Phœnician Hercules upon the coins of Thasus above cited: wherefore we have no doubt that he was the personage meant to be represented; as he continued to be afterwards upon the Bactrian and Parthian coins. The Hindoos have still a corresponding deity, whom they call Ram; and the modern Persians a fabulous hero called Rustam, whose exploits are in many respects similar to those of Hercules, and to whom they attribute all the stupendous remains of ancient art found in their country.

132. It was observed, by the founders of the mystic system, that the destructive power of the Sun was exerted most by day, and the generative by night: for it was by day that it dried up the waters and produced disease and putrefaction; and by night that it returned the exhalations in dews tempered with the genial heat that had been transfused into the atmosphere. Hence, when they personified the attributes, they worshipped the one as the *diurnal* and the other as the *nocturnal* sun; calling the one Apollo, and the other Dionysus or Bacchus;⁴⁹⁹ both of which were anciently observed to be the same god; whence, in a verse of Euripides, they are addressed as one, the names being used as epithets.⁵⁰⁰ The oracle at Delphi was also supposed to belong to both equally;⁵⁰¹ or, according to the expression of a Latin poet, to the united and mixed deity of both.⁵⁰²

133. This mixed deity appears to have been represented in the person of the Apollo Didymæus; who was worshipped in another celebrated oracular temple near Miletus; and whose symbolical image seems to be exhibited in plates xii. xliii. and xliv. of volume i. of the Select Specimens; and in different compositions on different coins of the Macedonian kings; sometimes sitting on the prow of a ship, as lord of the waters, or Bacchus Hyes;⁵⁰³ sometimes on the cortina, the veiled cone or egg; and sometimes leaning upon a tripod; but always in an androgynous form, with the limbs, tresses, and features of a woman; and holding the bow or arrow, or both, in his hands.⁵⁰⁴ The double

⁴⁹⁶ The earliest coins which we have seen with this device are those of Syracuse, Tarentum, and Heraclea in Italy; all of the finest time of the art, and little anterior to the Macedonian conquest. On the more ancient medals of Selinus, Hercules is destroying the bull, as the lion or leopard is on those of Acanthus; and his destroying a centaur signifies exactly the same as a lion destroying a horse; the symbols being merely humanised.

⁴⁹⁷ Herodot. lib. ii. 102 and 106.

⁴⁹⁸ See coins of Mallus in Cilicia, and Soli in Cyprus in the Hunter Collection.

⁴⁹⁹ In sacris enim hæc religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut Sol, cum in superno, id est in diurno Hemispherio est, Apollo vocitur; cum in infero, id est nocturno, Dionysus, qui et Liber pater habetur. Macroh. Sat. l. c. 18. Hence Sophocles calls Bacchus

Πορ πνευστων χορηγον αστρων. apud Eustath. p. 514. in fine.

and he had temples dedicated to him under correspondent titles. Εστι μιν Διονυσου ναος Νυκτεριον. Pausan. in Att. c. 40. s. 5. Ἱερὸν — Διονυσου Λαμπετρος ἐστιν ἐπικλησιον. Paus. Ach. c. 27. s. 2. Hence too the corresponding deity among the Ægyptians was lord of the Inferi. Αρχηγινειν δε των κατω Αιγυπτιαυ λεγονται Δημητρα και Διονυσου. Herodot. lib. ii. 123. Aristoteles, qui theologumena scripsit, Apollinem et Liberum patrem unum eundemque deum esse, cum multis argumentis asserat. Macroh. Sat. l. c. 18.

⁵⁰⁰ Διςσφα φιλοδοφει, Βακχε, Παιαν, Απολλων ευλυρι. Apud. eund.

⁵⁰¹ Τον Διονυσου, ο τον Δελφειν ουδεν ἕτερον η τον Απολλωνι μετιστοι. Plutarch. ii apud Delph. p. 388.

⁵⁰² Mons Phœbo Bromieque sacer; cui numine mixto

Delphica Thebanæ referunt trietærica Βακχæ. Lucan. Phars. v. 73.

⁵⁰³ (Ελληνες) και τον Διονυσου, Ὑην, ως κυριον της ὑγρας φυσικης, ουχ' ἑτερον οντα του Οσειριδος (καλουν). Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 364.

⁵⁰⁴ See medals of Antigonus, Antiochus I., Seleucus II. and III., and other kings of Syria; and also of Magnesia ad Mæandrum, and ad Sipylum.

The beautiful figure engraved on plates xliii. and xlv. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens is the most exquisite example of this androgynous Apollo.

attribute, though not the double sex, is also frequently signified in figures of Hercules; either by the cup or cornucopiæ held in his hand, or by the chaplet of poplar or some other symbolical plant, worn upon his head; whilst the club or lion's skin indicates the adverse power.

134. In the refinement of art, the forms of the lion and goat were blended into one fictitious animal to represent the same meaning, instances of which occur upon the medals of Capua, Panticapæum, and Antiochus VI. king of Syria, as well as on the frieze of the temple of Apollo Didymæus before mentioned. In the former, too, the destroying attribute is further signified by the point of a spear held in the mouth of the monster; and the productive, by the ear of corn under its feet.⁵⁰⁵ In the latter, the result of both is shown by the lyre, the symbol of universal harmony, which is supported between them; and which is occasionally given to Hercules, as well as to Apollo. The two-faced figure of Janus seems to have been a composite symbol of the same kind, and to have derived the name from *Iao* or *Iaov*, an ancient mystic title of Bacchus. The earliest specimens of it extant are on the coins of Lampsacus and Tenedos, some of which cannot be later than the sixth century before the Christian æra; and in later coins of the former city, heads of Bacchus of the usual form and character occupy its place.

135. The mythological personages Castor and Pollux, who lived and died alternately, were the same as Bacchus and Apollo: whence they were pre-eminently distinguished by the title of the *great gods* in some places; though, in others, confounded with the canonised or deified mortals, the brothers of Helen.⁵⁰⁶ Their fabulous birth from the egg, the form of which is retained in the caps usually worn by them, is a remnant of the ancient mystic allegory, upon which the more recent poetical tales have been engrafted; whilst the two asterisks, and the two human heads, one directed upwards and the other downwards, by which they are occasionally represented, more distinctly point out their symbolical meaning,⁵⁰⁷ which was the alternate appearance of the sun in the upper and lower hemispheres. This meaning, being a part of what was revealed in the mysteries, is probably the reason why Apuleius mentions the *seeing the sun at midnight* among the circumstances of initiation, which he has obscurely and ænigmatically related.⁵⁰⁸

136. As the appearance of the one necessarily implied the cessation of the other, the tomb of Bacchus was shown at Delos near to the statue of Apollo; and one of these mystic tombs, in the form of a large chest of porphyry, adorned with goats, leopards, and other symbolical figures, is still extant in a church at Rome. The mystic cistæ, which were carried in procession occasionally, and in which some emblem of the generative or preserving attribute was generally kept, appear to have been merely models or portable representations of these tombs, and to have had exactly the same signification. By the mythologists, Bacchus is said to have terminated his expedition in the extremities of the East; and Hercules, in the extremities of the West; which means no more than that the nocturnal sun finishes its progress, when it mounts above the surrounding ocean in the East; and the diurnal, when it passes the same boundary of the two hemispheres in the West.

137. The latter's being represented by the lion, explains the reason why the spouts of fountains were always made to imitate lions' heads; which Plutarch supposes to have been, because the Nile overflowed when the sun was in the sign of the Lion:⁵⁰⁹ but the same fashion prevails as universally in Tibet as ever it did in Ægypt, Greece, or Italy; though neither the Grand Lama nor any of his subjects know anything of the Nile or its overflows; and the signs of the zodiac were taken from the mystic symbols; and not, as some learned authors have supposed, the mystic symbols from the signs of the zodiac. The emblematical meaning, which certain animals were employed to signify, was only some particular property generalised; and, therefore, might easily be invented or discovered by the natural operation of the mind: but the collections of stars, named after certain animals, have no resemblance whatever to those animals; which are therefore merely signs of convention adopted to distinguish certain portions of the heavens, which were probably consecrated to those particular personified attributes, which they respectively represented. That they had only begun to be so named in the time of Homer, and that not on account of any real or supposed resemblance, we have the testimony of a passage in the description of the shield of Achilles, in which the polar constellation is said to be called *the Bear* or *otherwise the Waggon*,⁵¹⁰ objects so different that it is impossible that one and the same thing should be even imagined to resemble both. We may therefore rank

⁵⁰⁵ Numm. Pembrok. tab. v. fig. 12.

⁵⁰⁶ Pausan. in Att. xxxi. 1.; and in Lacon. xvi. 3. They were also called ΑΝΑΚΕΣ or Kings, and more commonly ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ or Sons of Jupiter, as being pre-eminently such. Το των Διόσκουρων ἱερὸν Ἀνακτὸν ἐκάλετο· Ἀνακτὲς γὰρ αὐτοὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλούντο. Schol. in Lucian. Timon. s. 10.; and Pausan. in Corinth. xxxvi. 6.

⁵⁰⁷ See medals of Ictus, which are very common.

⁵⁰⁸ Metamorph. lib. xi.

⁵⁰⁹ Κρήνη δὲ καὶ καταχάρματα τῶν λουστῶν ἐξασὶ κρουνούς, ὅτι Νεῖλος ἐπαγὶ νύκτ' ὕδωρ ταῖς Λιγνέτιων ἀρουραῖς, ἢ λέναν τὸν λέναντα περιδινούσης. Symposiac. lib. iv. p. 670.

⁵¹⁰ Il. 2. 487.

Plutarch's explanation with other tales of the later Ægyptian priests; and conclude that the real intention of these symbols was to signify that the water, which they conveyed, was the gift of the diurnal sun, because separated from the salt of the sea, and distributed over the earth by exhalation. Perhaps Hercules being crowned with the foliage of the white poplar, an aquatic tree, may have had a similar meaning: which is at least more probable than that assigned by Servius and Macrobius.⁵¹¹

138. Humidity in general, and particularly the Nile, was called by the Ægyptians the *defluxion of Osiris*,⁵¹² who was with them the God of the Waters, in the same sense as Bacchus was among the Greeks:⁵¹³ whence all rivers, when personified, were represented under the form of the bull; or at least with some of the characteristic features of that animal.⁵¹⁴ In the religion of the Hindoos this article of ancient faith, like most others, is still retained; as appears from the title, *Daughter of the Sun*, given to the sacred river Yamuna.⁵¹⁵ The God of Destruction is also mounted on a white bull, the sacred symbol of the opposite attribute, to show the union and co-operation of both.⁵¹⁶ The same meaning is more distinctly represented in an ancient Greek fragment of bronze, by a lion trampling upon the head of a bull, while a double phallus appears behind them, and shows the result.⁵¹⁷ The title ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ upon the composite priapic figure published by La Chausse is well known;⁵¹⁸ and it is probable that the ithyphallic ceremonies, which the gross flattery of the degenerate Greeks sometimes employed to honor the Macedonian princes,⁵¹⁹ had the same meaning as this title of *Saviour*, which was frequently conferred upon, or assumed by them.⁵²⁰ It was also occasionally applied to most of the deities who had double attributes, or were personifications of both powers; as to Hercules, Bacchus, Diana, &c.⁵²¹

139. Diana was, as before observed, originally and properly the Moon; by means of which the Sun was supposed to impregnate the air, and scatter the principles of generation both active and passive over the earth: whence, like the Bacchus διφνης and Apollo διδουμαιος, she was both male and female,⁵²² both heat and humidity; for the warmth of the Moon was supposed to be moistening, as that of the Sun was drying.⁵²³ She was called the Mother of the World;⁵²⁴ and the Daughter, as well as the Sister of the Sun;⁵²⁵ because the productive powers with which she impregnated the former, together with the light by which she was illumined, were supposed to be derived from the latter. By attracting or heaving the waters of the ocean, she naturally appeared to be the sovereign of humidity; and by seeming to operate so powerfully upon the constitutions of women, she equally appeared to be the patroness and regulatrix of nutrition and passive generation: whence she is said to have received her nymphs, or subordinate personifications, from the ocean;⁵²⁶ and is often represented by the symbol of the sea-crab;⁵²⁷ an animal that has the property of spontaneously detaching from its own body any limb, that has been hurt or mutilated, and re-producing another in its place. As the heat of the Sun animated the seminal particles of terrestrial matter, so was the humidity of the Moon

⁵¹¹ In Æn. viii. 276. Saturn. lib. iii. c. 12.

⁵¹² Οὐ μόνον τοῦ Νίλου, ἀλλὰ παν ὕδρον ἅπλως Οσιρίδος ἀπαρῶν καλοῦσιν (οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι). Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 365.

⁵¹³ Οἱ δὲ σφόδρῃ τῶν ἱερῶν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ Νίλου Οσίριν καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Τυφῶνα τὴν θαλάσσαν· ἀλλὰ Οσίριν μὲν ἅπλως ἄσασαι τὴν ὑγροτάτην ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, αἰτὶν γένεσιν καὶ σπέρματι οὐσίαν νομίζοντες. Τυφῶνα δὲ παν το ἀνχηρὸν καὶ πυρῶδες καὶ ξηρατικόν, ὅλος καὶ πόλεμον τὴν ὑγροτάτην. Ibid. p. 364.

— Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος Διόνυσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς ὕλης φύσιν· Ἕλληνας ἵκονται κυρίως καὶ ἀρχηγόν. Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Horat. lib. iv. od. xiv. 25. et Schol. Vet. in loc. Rivers appear thus personified on the coins of many Greek cities of Sicily and Italy.

⁵¹⁵ Sir W. Jones in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 29.

⁵¹⁶ Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. i. pt. i. p. 261.

⁵¹⁷ On a handle of a vase in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁵¹⁸ Mus. Rom. s. vii. pl. i. vol. ii.

⁵¹⁹ Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσχυόντο (τὸν Δημητρίον) οὐ μόνον θυμινότες, καὶ στεφανοῦντες, καὶ αἰνοχρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοδία καὶ χοροὶ καὶ θηφαλλοὶ μὲν ὀρχήσας τῆς ψῆς ἀπαιτῶν αὐτῇ. Athen. lib. vi. c. 15.

⁵²⁰ Ibid. c. 16.

⁵²¹ Εἰτι δὲ Ἥλιος ἐπὶ νύκτιν ἔχον, Σωτήρ δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxxi. s. 4. Id. in Lacon. c. xxii. 9. See also coins of Thasus, Maronea, Agathocles, &c.

⁵²² Οὕτω τὴν Οσιρίδος δύναμιν ἐν τῇ Σελήνῃ τίθενται (ἡγε τιθεμένοι) τὴν Ἰσιν αὐτῇ γένεσιν οὐσίαν συνεῖναι λέγουσι. διὰ καὶ μητέρα τὴν σελήνην τοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσι, καὶ φύσιν ἔχιν ἀρσενόθλην οἰσιναι, πληροῦμένην ὑπὸ ἡλίου, καὶ κυσσομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸν αἶρα προίμεναι γέννητικῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ κατασπεύρουσαν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 368.

⁵²³ Calor solis arefacit, lunaris humectat. Macrobi. Sat. vii. c. xvi.

⁵²⁴ Τὴν μὲν γὰρ σελήνην γαίμεν το φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν ἔχουσαν, ἐμμένη καὶ γαίαν ζῶν, καὶ φύτον εἶναι βλαστῆσαι. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 367.

⁵²⁵ Plutarch. in l. c. p. 368.

⁵²⁶ Ω Λεταροζῶνον θυγατὴρ Ἀλίου Σελαναια. Eurip. Phœn. 178.

Οἷός τε Ἀσχυλὸς καὶ οἱ φυσικοὶ τρεῖς. Ἡσίοδος δὲ φωνὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡλίου εἶναι τὴν σελήνην. Schol. in loc.

⁵²⁷ Æschyl. Prometh. Vincit. 138. Callimach. Hymn. in Dian. 13. Catullus in Gellium. 84.

⁵²⁸ See coins of the Brettii in Italy, Himera in Sicily, &c.

supposed to nourish and mature them;⁵⁴⁸ and as her orbit was held to be the boundary that separated the celestial from the terrestrial world,⁵⁴⁹ she was the mediatrix between both; the primary subject of the one, and sovereign of the other, who tempered the subtilty of ætherial spirit to the grossness of earthly matter, so as to make them harmonise and unite.⁵⁵⁰

140. The Greeks attributed to her the powers of destruction as well as nutrition; humidity, as well as heat, contributing to putrefaction: whence sudden death was supposed to proceed from Diana as well as from Apollo; who was both the sender of disease, and the inventor of cure: for disease is the father of medicine, as Apollo was fabled to be of Æsculapius. The rays of the Moon were thought relaxing, even to inanimate bodies, by means of their humidity: whence wood cut at the full of the moon was rejected by builders as improper for use.⁵⁵¹ The Ilithyia, supposed to preside over childbirth, were only personifications of this property,⁵⁵² which seemed to facilitate delivery by slackening the powers of resistance and obstruction; and hence the crescent was universally worn as an amulet by women; as it still continues to be in the southern parts of Italy; and Juno Lucina, and Diana, were the same goddess, equally personifications of the Moon.⁵⁵³

141. The Ægyptians represented the Moon under the symbol of a cat; probably on account of that animal's power of seeing in the night; and also, perhaps, on account of its fecundity; which seems to have induced the Hindoos to adopt the rabbit as the symbol of the same deified planet.⁵⁵⁴ As the arch or bend of the mystical instrument, borne by Isis and called a sistrum, represented the lunar orbit, the cat occupied the centre of it; while the rattles below represented the terrestrial elements;⁵⁵⁵ of which there are sometimes four, but more frequently only three in the instances now extant: for the ancient Ægyptians, or at least some of them, appear to have known that water and air are but one substance.⁵⁵⁶

142. The statues of Diana are always clothed, and she had the attribute of perpetual virginity; to which her common Greek name ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ seems to allude: but the Latin name appears to be a contraction of DIVIANA, the feminine, according to the old Etruscan idiom, of DIVUS, or ΔΙΦΟΣ;⁵⁵⁷ and therefore signifying the Goddess, or general female personification of the Divine nature, which the Moon was probably held to be in the ancient planetary worship, which preceded the symbolical. As her titles and attributes were innumerable, she was represented under an infinite variety of forms, and with an infinite variety of symbols; sometimes with three bodies, each holding appropriate emblems,⁵⁵⁸ to signify the triple extension of her power, in heaven, on earth, and under the earth; and sometimes with phallic radii enveloping a female form, to show the universal generative attribute both active and passive.⁵⁵⁹ The figures of her, as she was worshipped at Ephesus, seem to have consisted of an assemblage of almost every symbol, attached to the old humanised column, so as to form a composition purely emblematical;⁵⁶⁰ and it seems that the ancient

⁵⁴⁸ Duobus his reguntur omnia terrena, calore quidem solis per diem, humore vero lune per noctem. — Nam ut calore solis animantur semina, ita luna: humore nutriuntur, penes ipsam enim et corporum omnium ratio esse dicitur et potestas. Schol. Vet. in Horat. Carm. Sec.

Luna alit oestras; et implet echinos, muribus fibras,
Et pecuni addit.

Lucil. apud Aul. Gell. l. xx. c. 8.

⁵⁴⁹ Ἰσθμὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀβυσσὸς καὶ γενέσις ὁ περὶ τὴν σελήνην ὄριμος. Ocell. Lucan. de Universo, c. ii. s. 2.
Ἀπο γὰρ τῆς σελήνιακας σφαίρας, ἣν ἐσχάτην μὲν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν κυκλῶν, πρῶτην δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀναγρῶσαν οἱ φροντισταὶ τῶν μετεωρῶν, ἀγρὶ γὰρ ἐσχάτης ὁ ἀπὸ παντὶ γῆτις ἐβῆσεν. Philon. de Somn. vol. i. p. 641. Oper.

⁵⁵⁰ Ἡλιος δὲ, καρδίας ἔχων δύναμιν, ὥσπερ αἷμα καὶ πνεῦμα διατεμεῖ καὶ διασπείρνει ἐξ αὐτοῦ θερμότητα καὶ φῶς· γῆ δὲ καὶ θαλάσση χρήται κατὰ φύσιν ὁ κόσμος, ὅσα κοίλῃ καὶ κυστῇ ζωῇ· σελήνη δὲ φέλλει μεταξὺ καὶ γῆς, ὥσπερ καρδίας καὶ κοίλας ἦσεν, ἥ τι μαλίσκου ἄλλο σπλάγχχνον, ἐγκυμῆται, τὴν τ' ἀνωθεν αἵαν ἐνταῦθα διατεμεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐνταυθεὶ ἀναθυμῆσεις περὶ τινι καὶ καθαρεῖ λειπτύνοσσι περὶ αὐτῇ ἀναδίδωσιν. Plutarch. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ, p. 928.

⁵⁵¹ Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀφῆχα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδήλιος ἡ τῆς σελήνης δύναμις· τῶν τε γὰρ ξύλων τὰ τιμωριμῆται τὰς πανσέληνας ἀποβαλλοῦσιν οἱ τεκτονεῖς, ὥς ἀνάλα καὶ μύδοντα ταχέως δὲ ἔγροττα. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. iii. qu. 10.

⁵⁵² — Ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Ἀρτέμιαν Δοχίαν καὶ Εὐλείθειαν, οὐκ οὐσαν ἑτέραν τὴν σελήνην, ὀνομασθῆναι. Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Tu Lucina dolentibus
Juno dicta puerperis:
Tu potens Trivia, et notho es
Dicta lumine Luna. Catull. xxiv. 13.

⁵⁵⁴ Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 513. See fabulous reasons assigned for the Ægyptian symbol. Demetr. Phaler. s. 138.

⁵⁵⁵ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 376.

⁵⁵⁶ Ἡ γὰρ ὕδαρ φύσις, ἀρχὴ καὶ γενέσις οὐσα πάντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ πρῶτα τρία σήματα, γῆν, αἶρα καὶ πυρ ἐποίησε. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 365.

⁵⁵⁷ Varr. de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. p. 20. ed. Bipont. 1788. Lanzi Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. ii. p. 194.

⁵⁵⁸ See La Chausse Mus. Rom. vol. i. s. ii. tab. 20, &c. These figures are said to have been first made by Alcamenæ, about the lxxiv. Olympiad.

Ἀλαμνῆς δὲ (ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν) πρῶτος ἀγαλματα Ἑκατὸς τρία ἐποίησε πρῶτιστοιμῆται ἀλλήλοισι, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐπιτεργίδαν. Pausan. in Corinth. c. xxx. s. 2.

⁵⁵⁹ See Duane's coins of the Seleucids, tab. xiv. fig. 1 and 2. ⁵⁶⁰ See De la Chausse Mus. Rom. vol. i. s. ii. tab. xviii.

inhabitants of the north of Europe represented their goddess Isa as nearly in the same manner as their rude and feeble efforts in art could accomplish; she having the many breasts to signify the nutritive attribute; and being surrounded by deer's horns instead of the animals themselves, which accompany the Ephesian statues.⁵⁴¹ In sacrificing, too, the reindeer to her, it was their custom to hang the testicles round the neck of the figure,⁵⁴² probably for the same purpose as the phallic radii, above mentioned, were employed to serve.

143. Brimo, the Tauric and Scythic Diana, was the destroyer:⁵⁴³ whence she was appeased with human victims and other bloody rites;⁵⁴⁴ as was also *Bacchus the devourer*,⁵⁴⁵ who seems to have been a male personification of the same attribute, called by a general title which confounds him with another personification of a directly opposite kind. It was at the altar of Brimo, called at Sparta *Αρτεμις ορθία* or *ορθωσία*, that the Lacedæmonian boys voluntarily stood to be whipped until their lives were sometimes endangered;⁵⁴⁶ and it was during the festival of Bacchus at Alea, that the Arcadian women annually underwent a similar penance, first imposed by the Delphic oracle; but probably less rigidly enforced.⁵⁴⁷ Both appear to have been substitutions for human sacrifices;⁵⁴⁸ which the stern hierarchies of the North frequently performed; and to which the Greeks and Romans resorted upon great and awful occasions; when real danger had excited imaginary fear.⁵⁴⁹ It is probable, therefore, that drawing blood, though in ever so small a quantity, was necessary to complete the rite: for blood being thought to contain the principles of life, the smallest effusion of it at the altar might seem a complete sacrifice, by being a libation of the soul; the only part of the victim which the purest believers of antiquity supposed the Deity to require.⁵⁵⁰ In other respects, the form and nature of these rites prove them to have been expiatory; which scarcely any of the religious ceremonies of the Greeks or Romans were.

144. It is in the character of the destroying attribute, that Diana is called ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΑ, and ΒΟΩΝ ΕΑΑΤΕΙΑ, in allusion to her being borne or drawn by bulls, like the Destroyer among the Hindoos before mentioned; and it is probable that some such symbolical composition gave rise to the fable of Jupiter and Europa; for it appears that in Phœnicia, Europa and Astartè were only different titles for the same personage, who was the deity of the Moon;⁵⁵¹ comprehending both the Diana and celestial Venus of the Greeks: whence the latter was occasionally represented armed like the former;⁵⁵² and also distinguished by epithets, which can be properly applied only to the planet, and which are certainly derived from the primitive planetary worship.⁵⁵³ Upon the celebrated ark or box of Cypselus, Diana was represented winged, and holding a lion in one hand and a leopard in the other;⁵⁵⁴ to signify the destroying attribute, instead of the usual symbols of the bow and arrow; and in an ancient temple near the mouth of the Alpheus she was represented riding on a gryphon;⁵⁵⁵ an emblematical monster composed of the united forms of the lion and eagle, the symbols of destruction and dominion.⁵⁵⁶ As acting under the earth, she was the same as Proserpine; except that the latter has no reference to the Moon; but was a personification of the same attributes operating in the terrestrial elements only.

145. In the simplicity of the primitive religion, Pluto and Proserpine were considered merely as the deities of death presiding over the infernal regions; and, being thought wholly inflexible and inexorable,

⁵⁴¹ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. vol. ii. pp. 212 and 291. fig. 30 and 31. and p. 277. fig. G.

⁵⁴² Ibid. p. 212. fig. 31. and p. 292.

⁵⁴³ Βριμυ τριμορφος. Lycophr. Cassandra, v. 1176.

Βριμυ ή αυτη 'Εκατη' — και ή Περσεφονη Βριμυ λεγεται' δοκι δε ή αυτη είναι 'Εκατη και Περσεφονη. Tzetz. Schol. in eund.

⁵⁴⁴ See Johan. Meurs. Græc. Feriata. ζυμαστικωσις.

⁵⁴⁵ Διονυσου ωμαδω et ωμαστρ. See Porphyz. περι αποχης, l. ii. s. 55. Plutarch. in Themistoc. s. 13.

⁵⁴⁶ Plutarch. in Lycurg. et Lacon. Institut.

⁵⁴⁷ Και εν Διονυσου τη ιορτη, κατα μαντιμα εκ Δελφων, μαστιγουνται γυναικες, καθα και οι Σπαρτιατων εφηβοι παρα τη Ορθη. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 23.

⁵⁴⁸ — Οσοιμινου δε, ούτινα ο κληρος απλαμβανει, Λικουρργος μεταβαλει εν πας επι τοις εφηβοις μαστιγας. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 16. 7.

⁵⁴⁹ Plutarch. in Themistoc. s. 13. Liv. Hist. xxxix. s. 19.

⁵⁵⁰ Strabo. lib. xv. p. 733.

⁵⁵¹ Ενι δε και αλλοι Ιουον εν Φοινικη μεγα, το Σιδωνιοι εχουσι, ως μεν αυτοι λεγουσι, Αστартη εντ' Αστартην ε' εγυ δοκει Σιληναιων εμμεναι' ως δε μοι τις των Ιουων απηγετο, Ευρωπης εντι της Καδμου αδελφης. Lucian. de Syra Dea. s. 4.

⁵⁵² Ανελθοναι δε εν τον Ακροκορινθου, ναος εντιν Αφροδιτης' αγαλματα δε, αυτη τε ωπλισμενη, και 'Ηλιος, και Ερως εχων τοξον. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 4. s. 7.

Also at Cythera, in the most holy temple of Urania, which was the most ancient temple of Venus. Id. in Lacon. c. 23. s. 1.

⁵⁵³ Noctivigila, noctiluca, &c. Plaut. Curcul. act. i. sc. iii. v. 40. Horat. lib. iv. od. 6.

⁵⁵⁴ Αρτεμις δε, ουκ ουδα εφ' ότη λογη, πτηρυγας εχουσα εντι τον ωμων, και τη μεν δεξιη κατειη παραβαλει, τη δε ίτερα των χειρων λιστα. Pausan. in Eliac. i. c. 19. s. 1.

⁵⁵⁵ Strabo. lib. viii. p. 343. Αρτεμις αναφορμενη ενι γρυπος, a very celebrated picture of Aregon of Corinth.

⁵⁵⁶ See coin of Teios, &c. in the Hunter collection.

were neither honored with any rites of worship, nor addressed in any forms of supplication:⁵⁵⁷ but in the mystic system they acquired a more general character; and became personifications of the active and passive modifications of the pervading Spirit concentrated in the earth. Pluto was represented with the *πολος* or modius on his head, like Venus and Isis; and, in the character of Serapis, with the patera of libation, as distributor of the waters, in one hand, and the cornucopiae, signifying its result, in the other.⁵⁵⁸ His name Pluto or Plutus signifies the same as this latter symbol; and appears to have arisen from the mystic worship; his ancient title having been ΑΙΔΗΣ or ΑΪΔΗΣ, signifying the Invisible, which the Attics corrupted to Hades. Whether the title Serapis, which appears to be Ægyptian, meant a more general personification, or precisely the same, is difficult to ascertain; ancient authority rather favoring the latter supposition;⁵⁵⁹ at the same time that there appears to be some difference in the figures of them now extant; those of Pluto having the hair hanging down in large masses over the neck and forehead, and differing only in the front curls from that of the celestial Jupiter; while Serapis has, in some instances, long hair formally turned back and disposed in ringlets hanging down upon his breast and shoulders like that of women. His whole person too is always enveloped in drapery reaching to his feet; wherefore he is probably meant to comprehend the attributes of both sexes; and to be a general personification, not unlike that of the Paphian Venus with the beard, before mentioned; from which it was perhaps partly taken;⁵⁶⁰ there being no mention made of any such deity in Ægypt prior to the Macedonian conquest; and his worship having been communicated to the Greeks by the Ptolemies; whose magnificence in constructing and adorning his temple at Alexandria was only surpassed by that of the Roman emperors in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁵⁶¹

146. The mystic symbol called a modius or *πολος*, which is upon the heads of Pluto, Serapis, Venus, and Fortune or Isis, appears to be no other than the bell or seed-vessel of the lotus or water-lily, the *nymphaea nelumbo* of Linnæus. This plant, which appears to be a native of the eastern parts of Asia, and is not now found in Ægypt,⁵⁶² grows in the water; and amidst its broad leaves, which float upon the surface, puts forth a large white flower; the base and centre of which is shaped like a bell or inverted cone, and punctuated on the top with little cells or cavities, in which the seeds grow. The orifices of these cells being too small to let them drop out when ripe, they shoot forth into new plants in the places where they were formed; the bulb of the vessel serving as a matrice to nourish them until they acquire a degree of magnitude sufficient to burst it open and release themselves; when they sink to the bottom, or take root wherever the current happens to deposit them. Being, therefore, of a nature thus reproductive in itself, and, as it were, of a viviparous species among plants, the nelumbo was naturally adopted as the symbol of the productive power of the waters, upon which the active Spirit of the Creator operated in spreading life and vegetation over the earth. It also appeared to have a peculiar sympathy with the Sun, the great fountain of life and motion, by rising above the waters as it rose above the horizon, and sinking under them as it retired below.⁵⁶³ Accordingly we find it employed in every part of the Northern hemisphere, where symbolical worship either does or ever did prevail. The sacred images of the Tartars, Japanese, and Indians, are almost all placed upon it;⁵⁶⁴ and it is still sacred both in Tibet and China.⁵⁶⁵ The upper part of the base of the lingam also consists of the flower of it blended with the more distinctive characteristic of the female sex; in which that of the male is placed, in order to complete this mystic symbol of the ancient religion of the Bramins;⁵⁶⁶ who, in their sacred writings speak of the Creator Brama sitting upon his lotus throne.⁵⁶⁷

147. On the Isiac table, the figures of Isis are represented holding the stem of this plant, surmounted by the seed-vessel, in one hand, and the circle and cross, before explained, in the other; and in a temple, delineated upon the same mystic table, are columns exactly resembling the plant, which Isis holds in her hand, except that the stem is made proportionately large, to give that stability, which is requisite to support a roof and entablature. Columns and capitals of the same kind are still

⁵⁵⁷ *Iliad*. I. 158. They are invoked indeed *Il*. I. 565. and *Od*. K. 534.; but only as the deities of Death.

⁵⁵⁸ In a small silver figure belonging to Mr. P. Knight.

⁵⁵⁹ Ου γὰρ ἄλλων κινεῖ Σαραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλουτωνία φασ. *Plutarch*, de Is. et Osir. vol. vii. p. 427. Reiske.

⁵⁶⁰ Πλαττῶσιν δὲ αὐτὴν (Ἀφροδίτην) καὶ γένειον ἔχουσιν· διὸ καὶ ἀρρενα καὶ θήλει εἶχε ὄργανα. ταύτην γὰρ λεγούσιν εὐφρον γένεωσιν παύσης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφύρας καὶ ἀπὸ λεγούσιν αὐτὴν ἀρρενα· τὰ δὲ κινεῖ, θήλειαν. πλαττῶσιν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐφίππου. *Suidas* in Ἀφροδ. Σαραπίδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ ἐσχηγόντο· Ἀργυρτίσις δὲ ἱέρα Σαραπίδος, ἐπιφανιστάτων μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρουσίων, ἀρχαιοτάτων δὲ ἐν Μιμήθι. *Pausan.* in *Att.* c. 18. s. 4.

⁵⁶¹ *Ammian.* Marcellin. lib. xxii. c. 16.

⁵⁶² Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 391.

⁵⁶³ *Theophrast.* Hist. Plant. lib. iv. c. 10.

⁵⁶⁴ See *Kempfer*, D'Auroche, Sonnerat, and the Asiatic Researches.

⁵⁶⁵ Embassy to Tibet, p. 143.

⁵⁶⁶ Sir G. Staunton's Embassy to China, p. 391. vol. ii.

⁵⁶⁷ Sonnerat *Voyage aux Indes*, &c.

⁵⁶⁸ *Bagvat Geeta*, p. 91. See also the figure of him by Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 243.

existing in great numbers among the ruins of Thebes in Ægypt; and more particularly among those on the island of Philæ on the borders of Æthiopia; which was anciently held so sacred that none but priests were permitted to go upon it.⁵⁶⁸ These are probably the most ancient monuments of art now extant; at least, if we except some of the neighbouring temples of Thebes; both having been certainly erected when that city was the seat of wealth and empire; as it seems to have been, even proverbially, in the time of the Trojan war.⁵⁶⁹ How long it had then been so, we can form no conjecture; but that it soon after declined, there can be little doubt; for, when the Greeks, in the reign of Psammetichus (generally computed to have been about 530 years after, but probably more) became personally acquainted with Ægypt,⁵⁷⁰ Memphis had been for many ages its capital, and Thebes was in a manner deserted.

148. We may therefore reasonably infer that the greatest part of the superb edifices now remaining were executed or at least begun before the Homeric or even Trojan times, many of them being such as could not have been finished but in a long course of years, even supposing the wealth and resources of the ancient kings of Ægypt to have equalled that of the greatest of the Roman emperors. The completion of Trajan's column in three years has been justly deemed a very extraordinary effort; as there could not have been less than three hundred sculptors employed: and yet at Thebes the ruins of which, according to Strabo, extended ten miles on both sides of the Nile,⁵⁷¹ we find whole temples and obelisks of enormous magnitude covered with figures carved out of the hard and brittle granite of the Libyan mountains, instead of the soft and yielding marbles of Paros and Carrara. To judge, too, of the mode and degree of their finish by those on the obelisk of Rameses, once a part of them, but now lying in fragments at Rome, they are far more elaborately wrought than those of Trajan's pillar.⁵⁷²

149. The age of Rameses is as uncertain as all other very ancient dates: but he has been generally supposed by modern chronologers to be the same person as Sesostris, and to have reigned at Thebes about fifteen hundred years before the Christian æra, or about three hundred before the siege of Troy. They are, however, too apt to confound personages for the purpose of contracting dates; which being merely conjectural in events of this remote antiquity, every new system-builder endeavours to adapt them to his own prejudices; and, as it has been the fashion, in modern times, to reduce as much as possible the limits of ancient history, whole reigns and even dynasties have been annihilated with the dash of a pen, notwithstanding the obstinate evidence of those stupendous monuments of art and labor, which still stand up in their defence.⁵⁷³

150. From the state in which the inhabitants have been found in most newly-discovered countries, we know how slow and difficult the invention of even the commonest implements of art is; and how reluctantly men are dragged into those habits of industry, which even the first stages of culture require. Ægypt, too, being periodically overflowed, much more art and industry were required even to render it constantly habitable and capable of cultivation, than would be employed in cultivating a country not liable to inundations. Repositories must have been formed, and places of safety built, both for men and cattle; the adjoining deserts of Libya affording neither food nor shelter for either. Before this could have been done, not only the arts and implements necessary to do it must have been invented, but the rights of property in some degree defined and ascertained; which they could only be in a regular government, the slow result of the jarring interests and passions of men; who, having long struggled with each other, acquiesce at length in the sacrifice of some part of their natural liberty in order to enjoy the rest with security. Such a government, formed upon a very complicated and artificial plan, does Ægypt appear to have possessed even in the days of Abraham, not five hundred years after the period generally allowed for the universal deluge. Yet Ægypt was a new country, gained gradually from the sea by the accumulation of the mud and sand annually brought down in the waters of the Nile; and slowly transformed, by the regularly progressive operation of time and labor, from an uninhabitable salt-marsh to the most salubrious and fertile spot in the universe.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁶⁸ Diodor. Sic. lib. I. p. 25. ed. Wess.

⁵⁶⁹ See II. I. v. 381.

⁵⁷⁰ Πρωτος (ὁ Ψαμμητικός) των κατ' Αἰγυπτον βασιλεων ανειξε τοις αλλοις θησει τα κατα την αλλην χυραν ιμφορια. This prince was the fifth before Amasis who died in the 2nd year of the 131st. Olympiad, in which Cambyses invaded Ægypt. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 78 and 9.

⁵⁷¹ Και νυν δεικνται δ' εχνη τον μεγεθος αυτης επι αδοικαντα σταδious το μικρος. lib. xvii. p. 816.

⁵⁷² Figures in relief, finished in the same style, are upon the granite sarcophagus in the British Museum: it is equal to that of the finest gems, and must have been done with similar instruments.

⁵⁷³ Warburton has humourously introduced one of these chronologers proving that William the Conqueror and William the IIIrd. were one and the same person. Div. Leg.

⁵⁷⁴ Και γαρ ούτος αι Ερημερος ο τοπος φαινεται γιγνομινος, και πασα η χυρα του ποταμου προσχυσε ουσια του Νιλου' δια δι το κατα μικρον Ερημινομενου των ελων, τους πλησιον εισοικισθαι, το του χρονου μικρος αρρηται την αρχην. Φαινεται δ' ονν και τα στοματα παντα πλην εινος του Κανυβικου, χηροσπηται και ου του ποταμου οντα. Aristot. Meteor. lib. I. c. 14.

151. This great transformation took place, in all the lower regions, after the genealogical records of the hereditary priests of Ammon at Thebes had commenced; and, of course, after the civil and religious constitution of the government had been formed. It was the custom for every one of these priests to erect a colossal statue of himself, in wood—of which there were three hundred and forty-five shown to Hecataeus and Herodotus;⁵⁷⁵ so that, according to the Ægyptian computation of three generations to a century,⁵⁷⁶ which, considering the health and longevity of that people,⁵⁷⁷ is by no means unreasonable, this institution must have lasted between eleven and twelve thousand years, from the times of the first king, Menes, under whom all the country below Lake Mæris was a bog,⁵⁷⁸ to that of the Persian invasion, when it was the garden of the world. This is a period sufficient, but not more than sufficient, for the accomplishment of such vast revolutions, both natural and artificial; and, as it is supported by such credible testimony, there does not appear to be any solid room for suspecting it to have been less: for, as to the modern systems of chronology, deduced from doubtful passages of Scripture, and genealogies, of which a great part were probably lost during the captivity of the Jews, they bear nothing of the authority of the sacred sources from which they have been drawn. Neither let it be imagined that either Herodotus, or the priest who informed him, could have confounded symbolical figures with portraits: for all the ancient artists, even those of Ægypt, were so accurate in discriminating between ideal and real characters, that the difference is at once discernible by any experienced observer, even in the wrecks and fragments of their works that are now extant.

152. But, remote as the antiquity of these Ægyptian remains seems to be, the symbols which adorn them appear not to have been invented by that, but to have been copied from those of some other people, who dwelt on the other side of the Erythræan Ocean. Both the nelumbo, and the hooded snake, which are among those most frequently repeated, and most accurately represented upon all their sacred monuments, are, as before observed, natives of the East; and upon the very ancient Ægyptian temple, near Girgê, figures have been observed exactly resembling those of the Indian deities, Jaggernaut, Gonnès, and Vishnoo. The Ægyptian architecture appears, however, to have been original and indigenous; and in this art only the Greeks seem to have borrowed from them; the different orders being only different modifications of the symbolical columns which the Ægyptians formed in imitation of the nelumbo plant.

153. The earliest capital seems to have been the bell, or seed-vessel, simply copied, without any alteration except a little expansion at bottom, to give it stability.⁵⁷⁹ The leaves of some other plant were then added to it, and varied in different capitals, according to the different meanings intended to be signified by these accessory symbols.⁵⁸⁰ The Greeks decorated it in the same manner, with the foliage of various plants, sometimes of the acanthus, and sometimes of the aquatic kind;⁵⁸¹ which are, however, generally so transformed by their excessive attention to elegance, that it is difficult to ascertain them. The most usual seems to be the Ægyptian acacia, which was probably adopted as a mystic symbol for the same reasons as the olive; it being equally remarkable for its powers of reproduction.⁵⁸² Theophrastus mentions a large wood of it in the Thebais; where the olive will not grow;⁵⁸³ so that we may reasonably suppose it to have been employed by the Ægyptians in the same symbolical sense. From them the Greeks seem to have borrowed it about the time of the Macedonian conquest; it not occurring in any of their buildings of a much earlier date: and as for the story of the Coriuthian architect, who is said to have invented this kind of capital from observing a thorn growing round a basket, it deserves no credit, being fully contradicted by the buildings still remaining in Upper Ægypt.⁵⁸⁴

154. The Doric column, which appears to have been the only one known to the very ancient Greeks, was equally derived from the nelumbo; its capital being the same seed-vessel pressed flat, as it appears when withered and dry; the only state, probably, in which it had been seen in Europe.

⁵⁷⁵ Herodot. lib. ii. s. 148.

⁵⁷⁶ Γενεαι γαρ τρεις ανδρων εκατον ετια εστι. Ibid. s. 142.

⁵⁷⁷ Εισι μιν γαρ και αλλως Αιγυπτίοι μετα Διζνας υγιμενισσας παντων ανθρωπων, των υιων (μοι δοκειν) εινεκα, οτι ου μεταλλασσουσιν αι υραι. Ib. s. 77.

⁵⁷⁸ Ετι τούτου, πλην του Θηβαϊκου νομου, πασαν Αιγυπτον ειναι υλος' και αυτης ειναι ουδεν υπερχον των νυν ευρηθι λιμνης της Μοιρας εινον' ις την αναπλους απο θαλασσης ειντα ημερων εστι ανα τον ποταμον. Ib. s. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ Denon. pl. ix. lx.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid. pl. lix. and lx.

⁵⁸¹ See ib. pl. lix. 1. 2. and 3. and lx. 1. 2. 3., &c.; where the originals from which the Greeks took their Corinthian capitals plainly appear. It might have been more properly called the Ægyptian order, as far at least as relates to the form and decoration of the capitals.

⁵⁸² Martin in Virg. Georg. ii. 119.

⁵⁸³ Περι φυτων.

⁵⁸⁴ If the choragic monument of Lysicrates was really erected in the time of the Lysicrates to whom it is attributed, it must be of about the hundred and eleventh Olympiad, or three hundred and thirty years before the Christian era; which is earlier than any other specimen of Corinthian architecture known.

The flutes in the shaft were made to hold spears and staves; whence a spear-holder is spoken of, in the *Odyssey*, as part of a column:⁵⁸⁵ the triglyphs and blocks of the cornice were also derived from utility; they having been intended to represent the projecting ends of the beams and rafters which formed the roof.

155. The Ionic capital has no bell, but volutes formed in imitation of sea-shells, which have the same symbolical meaning. To them is frequently added the ornament which architects call a honey-suckle; but which seems to be meant for the young petals of the same flower viewed horizontally, before they are opened or expanded. Another ornament is also introduced in this capital, which they call eggs and anchors; but which is, in fact, composed of eggs and spear-heads, the symbols of passive generative, and active destructive power; or, in the language of mythology, of Venus and Mars.

156. These are, in reality, all the Greek orders, which are respectively distinguished by the symbolical ornaments being placed *upwards, downwards, or sideways*: wherefore, to invent a new order is as much impossible as to invent an attitude or position, which shall incline to neither of the three. As for the orders called Tuscan and Composite, the one is that in which there is no ornament whatsoever, and the other that in which various ornaments are placed in different directions; so that the one is in reality no order, and the other a combination of several.

157. The columns being thus sacred symbols, the temples themselves, of which they always formed the principal part, were emblems of the Deity, signifying generally the passive productive power; whence ΠΕΡΙΚΛΙΟΝΙΟΣ, *surrounded with columns*, is among the Orphic or mystic epithets of Bacchus, in his character of god of the waters;⁵⁸⁶ and his statue in that situation had the same meaning as the Indian lingam, the bull in the labyrinth, and other symbolical compositions of the same kind before cited. A variety of accessory symbols were almost always added, to enrich the sacred edifices; the Egyptians covering the walls of the cells and the shafts of the columns with them; while the Greeks, always studious of elegance, employed them to decorate their entablatures, pediments, doors, and pavements. The extremities of the roofs were almost always adorned with a sort of scroll of raised curves,⁵⁸⁷ the meaning of which would not be easily discovered, were it not employed on coins evidently to represent water; not as a symbol, but as the rude effort of infant art, feebly attempting to imitate waves.⁵⁸⁸

158. The most obvious, and consequently the most ancient symbol of the productive power of the waters, was a fish; which we accordingly find the universal symbol upon many of the earliest coins; almost every symbol of the male or active power, both of generation and destruction, being occasionally placed upon it; and Dirceto, the goddess of the Phœnicians, being represented by the head and body of a woman, terminating below in a fish:⁵⁸⁹ but on the Phœnician as well as Greek coins now extant, the personage is of the other sex; and in plate I. of vol. I. of the *Select Specimens*, is engraved a beautiful figure of the mystic Cupid, or first-begotten Love, terminating in an aquatic plant; which, affording more elegance and variety of form, was employed to signify the same meaning; that is, the Spirit upon the waters; which is otherwise expressed by a similar and more common mixed figure, called a Triton, terminating in a fish, instead of an aquatic plant. The head of Proserpine appears, in numberless instances, surrounded by dolphins;⁵⁹⁰ and upon the very ancient medals of Sidè in Pamphylia, the pomegranate, the fruit peculiarly consecrated to her, is borne upon the back of one.⁵⁹¹ By prevailing upon her to eat of it, Pluto is said to have procured her stay during half the year in the infernal regions; and a part of the Greek ceremony of marriage still consists, in many places, in the bride's treading upon a pomegranate. The flower of it is also occasionally employed as an ornament upon the diadems of both Hercules and Bacchus; and likewise forms the device of the Rhodian medals; on some of which we have seen distinctly represented an ear of barley springing from one side of it, and the bulb of the lotus, or nelumbo, from the other. It therefore holds the place of the male, or active generative attribute; and accordingly we find it on a bronze fragment published by Caylus, as the result of the union of the bull and lion, exactly as the more distinct symbol of the phallus is in a similar fragment above cited.⁵⁹² The pomegranate, therefore, in the hand of Proserpine or Juno, signifies the same as the circle and cross,

⁵⁸⁵ *Od. A.* 128.

⁵⁸⁶ *Orph. Hymn.* xlv.

⁵⁸⁷ See *Stuart's Athens*, vol. I. c. iv. pl. iii.

⁵⁸⁸ See coins of Tarentum, Camerina, &c.

⁵⁸⁹ Διρκετος δὲ εἶδος ἐν Φοινικῇ ἐθνησμένη, θεῶμα ἑνὸν· ἡμῶν μὲν γυνὴ· τοῦ δὲ ὀκσεῶν ἐκ μηρῶν ἐς ἀκροῦς ποδῶς ἰχθύος οὐρὰ προεξέχουσα· ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρί πασα γυνή ἐστι. *Lucian. de Syr. Den.* s. 14.

⁵⁹⁰ See coins of Syracuse, Motya, &c.

⁵⁹¹ *Mus. Hunter.* tab. 49. fig. iii. &c.

⁵⁹² *Recueil d'Antiquités*, &c. vol. vii. pl. lxiii. fig. 1. 2. and 3.

The bull's head is, indeed, here half humanised, having only the horns and ears of the animal; while in the more ancient fragment above cited both symbols are unmetamorphosed.

before explained, in the hand of Isis; which is the reason why Pausanias declines giving any explanation of it, lest it should lead him to divulge any of the mystic secrets of his religion.⁵⁸³ The cone of the pine, with which the thyrsus of Bacchus is always surmounted, and which is employed in various compositions, is probably a symbol of similar import, and meaning the same, in the hand of Ariadne and her attendants, as the above-mentioned emblems do in those of Juno, Proserpine, and Isis.

159. Upon coins, Diana is often accompanied by a dog,⁵⁸⁴ esteemed to be the most sagacious and vigilant of animals;⁵⁸⁵ and therefore employed by the Egyptians as the symbol of Hermes, Mercury, or Anubis; who was the conductor of the soul from one habitation to another; and consequently the same, in some respects, as Brimo, Hecatè, or Diana, the destroyer.⁵⁸⁶ In monuments of Grecian art, the cock is his most frequent symbol; and in a small figure of brass, we have observed him sitting on a rock, with a cock on his right side, the goat on his left, and the tortoise at his feet. The ram, however, is more commonly employed to accompany him, and in some instances he appears sitting upon it.⁵⁸⁷ wherefore it is probable that both these animals signified nearly the same; or, at most, only different modifications of the influence of the nocturnal sun, as the cock did that of the diurnal. Hence Mercury appears to have been a personification of the power arising from both; and we accordingly find that the old Pelasgian Mercury, so generally worshipped at Athens,⁵⁸⁸ was a priapic figure,⁵⁸⁹ and probably the same personage as the Celtic Mercury, who was the principal deity of the ancient Gauls;⁵⁹⁰ who do not, however, appear to have had any statues of him till they received them from the Greeks and Romans.

160. In these, one hand always holds a purse, to signify that productive attribute, which is peculiarly the result of mental skill and sagacity,⁵⁹¹ while the other holds the caduceus; a symbol composed of the staff or sceptre of dominion between two serpents, the emblems of life or preservation, and therefore signifying his power over it. Hence it was always borne by heralds; of whom Mercury, as the messenger of the gods, was the patron, and whose office was to proclaim peace, and denounce war; of both which it might be considered as the symbol: for the staff or spear, signifying power in general,⁵⁹² was employed by the Greeks and Romans to represent Juno⁵⁹³ and Mars;⁵⁹⁴ and received divine honors all over the North, as well as the battle-axe and sword; by the latter of which the God of War, the supreme deity of those fierce nations, was signified.⁵⁹⁵ whence, to swear by the shoulder of the horse and the edge of the sword, was the most solemn and inviolable of oaths;⁵⁹⁶ and deciding civil dissensions or personal disputes by duel, was considered as appealing directly and immediately to the Deity. The ordeal, or trial by fire and water, which seems once to have prevailed in Greece and Italy,⁵⁹⁷ as well as Germany and the North, is derived from the same source; it being

⁵⁸³ Το δὲ ἀγάλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐστὶ θρόνον καθήμεν, μετὰ μίαν χερσὶν μὲν καὶ ἀλεφαντὸς, Πολυδαίμων δὲ ἔργον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ στήθεας χαρίτας ἔχων καὶ Ὀρεὸς ἐπιτέρασμένος· καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει βίαιος, τῇ δὲ σκεπτὸν· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν βίαν (ἀπορρηγνέας γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος) ἀνίσθηται μοι. Corinth. c. xvii. s. 4.

⁵⁸⁴ See coins of Syracuse, &c.

⁵⁸⁵ Οὐ γὰρ τὸν κύνα κυριώως Ἑρμῆν λεγόντων (οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι) ἀλλὰ τὸν ζῶον το φυλακτικόν, καὶ το ἀγρυπνόν, καὶ το φιλοσοφόν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. vol. vii. p. 399. Reiske.

⁵⁸⁶ Ταύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀνουβίς, οἷον ἡ Ἑκατὴ παρ' Ἑλλήσι, χθονίος ὡν ἄνθρωποι καὶ Ὀλύμπιοι. Ibid. p. 453. Reiske.

⁵⁸⁷ Particularly in an intaglio of exquisite work, in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle.

⁵⁸⁸ Ἀθηναίων γὰρ το σῆμα το τιτράγωνον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἑρμῆος, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεταβηθεὶς οἱ ἄλλοι. Pausan. in Mess. c. xxxiii.

⁵⁸⁹ Τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆα τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄρθα ἔχιν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποινέντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεταβηθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν. Herodot. ii. 51. Τὸν Ἑρμῆα δὲ το ἀγάλμα, ὃν δὲ ταύτῃ (Κυλλήνῃ) πέρισσους σιβζοῖναι, ὄρθον ἐστὶν αἰδοῖαν ἐπὶ τὸν βῆθρον. Pausan. in Eliac. ii. c. xxvi. s. 3.

⁵⁹⁰ Cmsar. de B. G. lib. vi. p. 222. ed. Elz. 1670.

⁵⁹¹ Occultè Mercurio supplicabat (Julianus) quem mundi velocitorem sensum esse, motum mentium suscitantem, theologie prodidere doctrinæ. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvi. c. 5.

⁵⁹² Hence the expressions, *subvenit doris, to move, and venire sub hasta, to be sold as a slave.*

⁵⁹³ Ἥρας δὲ ἱερὸν το δὸρυ μνημοσύνη, καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῆς στηρίζεται τὰ πλίστα, καὶ Κυριεὶς ἡ θεὸς ἐπωνομασται· το γὰρ δὸρυ κοῦριν ἐκαλοῦν οἱ παλαιοί. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. p. 149.

⁵⁹⁴ Εὐ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δὸρυ καθέδραν Ἀρεῖα προσαγορεύουσιν. Plutarch. in Romulo. s. 29.

⁵⁹⁵ Ab origine rerum pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas colere: ad ejus religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulachris haste adduntur. Justin. Hist. lib. xliii. c. 3. See also Herodot. lib. iv. c. 62. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvii. c. 12. and lib. xxxi. Lucian. Scyth. p. 864. Prisci Frag. in excerpt. Legat.

⁵⁹⁶ Mallet Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemarck, c. ix.

⁵⁹⁷ Ἦμεν δ' ἱστέμεν καὶ μυθρὸς αἰρεῖν χερσὶν
καὶ πυρ δειρστέιν. Sophocl. Antig. 270.
Summe Deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur; et medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia prunis. Æn. xi. 785.

only an appeal to the essence, instead of the symbol, of the Divine nature. The custom of swearing by the implements of war as divine emblems, appears likewise to have prevailed among the Greeks; whence Æschylus introduces the heroes of the Thebaid taking their military oath of fidelity to each other upon the point of a spear or sword.⁶⁰⁰

161. The dog represented Mercury as the keeper of the boundary between life and death, or the guardian of the passage from the upper to the lower hemisphere; to signify the former of which, the face of Anubis was gilded, and to signify the latter, black.⁶⁰⁹ In the Greek and Roman statues of him, the wings and petasus, or cap, which he occasionally wears upon his head, seem to indicate the same difference of character;⁶¹⁰ similar caps being frequently upon the heads of figures of Vulcan, who was the personification of terrestrial fire;⁶¹¹ whence he was fabled to have been thrown from heaven into the volcanic island of Lemnos, and to have been saved by the sea;⁶¹² volcanos being supported by water. These caps, the form of which is derived from the eggs⁶¹³ and which are worn by the Dioscuri, as before observed, surmounted with asterisks, signify the hemispheres of the earth;⁶¹⁴ and it is possible that the asterisks may, in this case, mean the morning and evening stars; but whence the cap became a distinction of rank, as it was among the Scythians,⁶¹⁵ or a symbol of freedom and emancipation, as it was among the Greeks and Romans, is not easily ascertained.⁶¹⁶

162. The dog was the emblem of destruction as well as vigilance, and sacred to Mars as well as Mercury;⁶¹⁷ whence the ancient northern deity, Gamr, the devourer or engulphur, was represented under the form of this animal; which sometimes appears in the same character on monuments of Grecian art.⁶¹⁸ Both destruction and creation were, according to the religious philosophy of the ancients, merely dissolution and renovation; to which all sublunary bodies, even that of the Earth itself, were supposed to be periodically liable.⁶¹⁹ Fire and water were held to be the great efficient principles of both; and as the spirit or vital principle of thought and mental perception was alone supposed to be immortal and unchanged, the complete dissolution of the body, which it animated, was conceived to be the only means of its complete emancipation. Hence the Greeks, and all the Scythic and Celtic nations, burned the bodies of their dead, as the Hindoos do at this day; whilst the Ægyptians, among whom fuel was extremely scarce, embalmed them, in order that they might be preserved entire to the universal conflagration; till when the soul was supposed to migrate from one body to another.⁶²⁰ In this state those of the vulgar were deposited in subterraneous caverns, excavated with vast labor for the purpose; while their kings erected, for their own bodies, those vast pyramidal monuments, (the symbols of that fire to which they were consigned) whose excessive

⁶⁰⁰ Ορνισι δ' αἰχμῇ. Sept. ap. Theb. V. 535.

⁶⁰⁹ Hic horrendum attollens canis cervices arduas, ille superum commoretur et inferum nunc atrâ nunc aurâ facie sublimis. Apul. Metam. lib. xi. p. 373. ed. Delfh.

⁶¹⁰ See small brass coins of Metapontum, silver tetradrachms of Ænos, &c.

⁶¹¹ See coins of Lipari, Æsernia, &c.: also plate xlvii. of vol. i.

⁶¹² Iliad A. 593. and Σ. 395.

⁶¹³ Του ωον το ήμισιον και αστρο ήπειραν. Lucian. Dial. Deor. xxvi.

⁶¹⁴ Πίλους τ' επιθεσσαν αυτοις, και εκι ταυτους αστρας, ανισομενοι την ήμισφαιρωσ κατασκευη. Sext. Empiric. xi. 37. See also Achill. Tat. Isagug. p. 127 b. and 150 c.

This cap was first given to Ulysses by Nicomachus, a painter of the age of Alexander the Great. Plin. xxxv. c. xxxvi. 22.

⁶¹⁵ Πιλοφορμει. Scythians of rank. Lucian. Scyth. s. 1.

⁶¹⁶ See Tib. Hemsterhuis. Not. in Lucian. Dialog. Deor. xxvi. s. 1.

⁶¹⁷ Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. xxi.

⁶¹⁸ See coins of Phocæa, &c.

⁶¹⁹ Αθρηρονς δε λεγουσι και οἱτοι και οι αλλοι (Κιλας) τας ψυχας και τον κοσμον επιρατησιν δε ποτε και πυρ και ύδωρ. Strabo. lib. iv. p. 197. See also Justin. lib. ii. and Edda Myth. iv. and xlviii. Volucre stroph. xlix. Vafthrud. xlvii. et seqq. The same opinion prevailed almost universally; see Plutarch. de Placit. Philos. lib. ii. c. xviii. Lucret. lib. v. ver. 92. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Bagvat Geeta Lect. ix. And Brucker Hist. Crit. Philos. vol. i. p. 11. lib. i. Some indeed supposed the world to be eternal in its present state. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 10.

Θεοποιητος δε φησι κατα τους μαγους, ανα μέρος τρισχιλια ετη του μεν κρατειν, τον δε κρατεσθαι των θων, αλλα δε τρισχιλια μαχεσθαι και πολεμειν και αναλυνειν τα του ιτερον του ιτερον τελος δ' απολυσθαι (ιερε απολυσθαι) τον αδην, και τους μεν ανθρωπων ενδαιμονας επσθαι, μητι τροφης εομενους, μητι σκian ποιουντας. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 370. Hence the period of 6,000 years so important in ecclesiastical history.

Ισσαι δε και Έλληνες κατακλυσμη η πυρι την γην κατα περιόδους καθαίρομεν. Origen. contra Cels. lib. iv. s. 20.

Εσται γαρ ισται κινος αιωνων χρονος
όταν πυρος γιμοντα θησαυραν σχαση
χρυσοςπος αυηρ' ή δε βοσκησθαι φλοξ
άπαντα τ' σπγμια και μεταρσια
φλξει μανεισ' επαν δ' αρ ελγρη το παν,
φρουδος μεν ισται κυματων άπας βυθος,
γη δεινδριων ιρμος' ουδ' απρ τι
πτιρωτα φυλα βλασταται πυρομνος'
καπειτα σωσει πανθ' ά προσθ' απολυσει.

Sophocl. in Grotii. excerpt. p. 145.

⁶²⁰ Herodot. lib. ii. 123.

strength and solidity were well calculated to secure them as long as the earth, upon which they stood, should be able to support them. The great pyramid, the only one that has been opened, was closed up with such extreme care and ingenuity, that it required years of labor and enormous expense to gratify the curiosity or disappoint the avarice of the Mohammedan prince who first laid open the central chamber where the body lay.⁶²¹ The rest are still impenetrable, and will probably remain so, according to the intention of the builders, *to the last syllable of recorded time.*

163. The soul, that was to be finally emancipated by fire, was the divine emanation, the vital spark of heavenly flame, the principle of reason and perception, which was personified into the familiar dæmon or genius, supposed to have the direction of each individual, and to dispose him to good or evil, wisdom or folly, with all their respective consequences of prosperity or adversity.⁶²² Hence proceeded the notion, that all human actions depended immediately upon the gods; which forms the fundamental principle of morality both in the elegant and finished compositions of the most ancient Greek poets,⁶²³ and in the rude strains of the northern Scalds:⁶²⁴ for as the soul was supposed to be a part of the ætherial substance of the Deity detached from the rest; and doomed, for some unknown causes, to remain during certain periods imprisoned in matter; all its impulses, not immediately derived from the material organs, were of course impulses of the Deity.⁶²⁵ As the principles of this system were explained in the mysteries, persons initiated were said to pass the rest of their time with the gods;⁶²⁶ it being by initiation that they acquired a knowledge of their affinity with the Deity; and learned to class themselves with the more exalted emanations, that flowed from the same source.

⁶²¹ Savary sur l'Egypt.

⁶²² Ὁ νοός γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. Menand. apud Plutarch. Qu. Platon. p. 999.

Ἀπαντι δαίμονι συμπαριστάται,
ἐνθὺς ἡγεμονίᾳ μυστογῶτος τοῦ βίου·
ἀγαθὸς· κακὸν γὰρ δαίμον' οὐ νομοῖται
ἵνα, τοῦ βίου βλαπτόντα χρῆσται· πάντα γὰρ
δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θίον. Menandr. Fragm. incerta. No. 205.

Plutarch, according to his own system, gives two genii to each individual, and quotes the authority of Empedocles against this passage of Menander; which seems, however, to contain the most ancient and orthodox opinion.

Αὐτὴ τὸν αὐτὴν δαίμον' ἀγκαλομένην. Sophocl. Trachin. 910.
Est deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo:

Impetus hic sacre æmina mentis habet. Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 5.

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,

Naturæ deus humane, mortalis in unum-

Quodlibet caput; vultu mutabilis, albus et ater. Horat. lib. ii. ep. ii. 187.

⁶²³ Οὐτὶ μοι αἰτῇ ἐσσι, θεοὶ νῦ μοι αἰτίοι ἔσιν

Οἱ μὲν ἐφορμήσαν πολέμον πολυδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν— Π. Γ. 164.

says the polite old Priam to the blushing and beautiful Helen. Agamemnon excuses himself for having injured and insulted Achilles, by saying,

— Εγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι,

ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα, καὶ περὶ φρεσὶς Ἐρινυός. Π. Τ. 86.

Pindar continually inculcates this doctrine.

Διὸς τοι νοός μεγας ἐνδύμενη

Δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φύλον. Pyth. ε. v. 164.

Ἔτι φρονίος ἐνθὺν δαίμονος σπινν. Olym. γ. v. 38.

Ἐκ θιού δ' ἀνὴρ σοφίας ἐνθὺ ἐσσι πρᾶσι δέσσειν. Olym. ια. v. 10.

— Ἀγαθὸν δὲ

καὶ σοφίᾳ κατὰ Δαίμον' ἀνδρὶς

ἐγίνετο. Olym. θ. v. 41.

Ἐκ θιῶν γὰρ μάχονται πα-

σαι βροτείαι ἀρεταί·

καὶ σοφοί, καὶ χεῖρσι βίαι-

ται, περιγλωσσὸι τ' ἔφην. Pyth. α. v. 79.

⁶²⁴ See Eddas, and Bartholinus.

⁶²⁵ Μαρτυροῦνται δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ θεολογοὶ τε καὶ μαντεῖς, ὡς διὰ τινος τιμῆρας ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ σωματὶ συνιζέσεται, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν σωματὶ τοῦτο ἔτιθαπται. Philolaus Pythagoric. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. iii.

Αἱ δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἡνσις ψυχῆς, καὶ σχολάζουσιν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπο σωματός, οἷον ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμεῖς ἀφαιρῶμεν, δαίμονες ἵσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμένει, καθ' ἡγεμονίαν. ὡς γὰρ ἀλλήλας καταλύσαντες ἀσκήσαν ὑπὸ γῆρας, οὐ τίλεις ἀπολείπει το φιλότητος καὶ φιλοστομίας, ἀλλ' ἱστῶντες ἀποκινῶντες ῥωμῆτις ἵδονται, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται καὶ συμπαραβιβαίνουσι οἷσιν οἱ τεταπνυμένοι τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγῶνιν, δὲ ἀρετῆν ψυχῆς γινόμενοι δαίμονες, οὐ παντὶος ἀντιμαχόμενοι τα ἐνταῦθα, καὶ λόγους καὶ σπουδὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο γυναικίζουσιν τέλος ἐμῶντες οὐκ, καὶ συμβολιζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκλεινοῦνται καὶ συνεξορῶνται, ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦ ἡ ἐλπίς ἀλλήλων καὶ φανώσας ῥωμῆτις. Interloc. Pythagoric. in Plutarch. Dialog. de Socrat. Dæmon. p. 593.

Καὶ μὴν ἂν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις, οἱ πείθονται πολλοὶ, λεγόντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδὲν τῇ διαλῆθινι κακῶν οὐδὲ λυπηρῶν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ οἱ κολῶσι οἱ πατρὶος λόγους, καὶ τα μυστικά συμβόλα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργισμένων, ἃ συνημνὴν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες. Plutarch. ad Uxor. Consol. p. 611.

⁶²⁶ Ὡς περὶ δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν μνημονίων, ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ θένων διαγῶνται (ἡ ψυχῆ). Platon. Phæd. p. 61.

164. The corporeal residence of this divine particle or emanation, as well as of the grosser principle of vital heat and animal motion, was supposed to be the blood:⁶⁵⁷ whence, in Ulysses's evocation of the Dead, the shades are spoken of as void of all perception of corporeal objects until they had tasted the blood of the victims⁶⁵⁸ which he had offered; by means of which their faculties were replenished by a re-union with that principle of vitality from which they had been separated: for, according to this ancient system, there were two souls, the one the principle of thought and perception, called ΝΟΟΣ, and ΦΗΝ; and the other the mere power of animal motion and sensation, called ΨΥΧΗ;⁶⁵⁹ both of which were allowed to remain entire, in the shades, in the person of Tiresias only.⁶⁶⁰ The prophetic of Apollo at Argos, in like manner, became possessed of the knowledge of futurity by tasting the blood of a lamb offered in sacrifice;⁶⁶¹ and it seems probable that the sanctity anciently attributed to red or purple color, arose from its similitude to that of blood; it having been customary, in early times, not only to paint the faces of the statues of the deities with vermilion; but also the bodies of the Roman Consuls and Dictators,⁶⁶² during the sacred ceremony of the triumph; from which ancient custom the imperial purple of later ages is derived.

165. It was, perhaps, in allusion to the emancipation and purification of the soul, that Bacchus is called ΑΙΚΝΙΤΗΣ;⁶⁶³ a metaphorical title taken from the winnow, which purified the corn from the dust and chaff, as fire was supposed to purify the ætherial soul from all gross and terrestrial matter. Hence this instrument is called by Virgil the *mystic winnow of Bacchus*;⁶⁶⁴ and hence we find the symbols both of the destroying and generative attributes upon tombs, signifying the separation and regeneration of the soul performed by the same power. Those of the latter are, in many instances, represented by very obscene and licentious actions, even upon sepulchral monuments; as appears from many now extant, particularly one lately in the Farnese palace at Rome. The Canobus of the Egyptians appears to have been a personification of the same attribute as the Bacchus ΑΙΚΝΙΤΗΣ of the Greeks: for he was represented by the filtering-vase, which is still employed to purify and render potable the waters of the Nile; and these waters, as before observed, were called the *defluxion of Osiris*, of whom the soul was supposed to be an emanation. The means, therefore, by which they were purified from all grosser matter, might properly be employed as the symbol of that power, which separated the ætherial from the terrestrial soul, and purified it from all the pollutions and incumbrances of corporeal substance. The absurd tale of Canobus being the deified pilot of Menelaus is an invention of the later Greeks, unworthy of any serious notice.

166. The rite of Baptism in fire and water, so generally practised among almost all nations of antiquity, seems to have been a mystic representation of this purification and regeneration of the soul after death. It was performed by jumping three times through the flame of a sacred fire, and being sprinkled with water from a branch of laurel;⁶⁶⁵ or else by being bedewed with the vapor from a sacred

⁶⁵⁷ Το αίμα τῆ ἀνθρώπου πλείστον συμβαλλεται μέρος συνεισὶς· ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ λεγούσι, τὸ παν. Hippocrat. de Morbis, lib. i. s. xxix.

Γνωμὴ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυκτικὴ ἐν τῇ λαίᾳ κοιλίᾳ (τῆς καρδίας) καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἄλλης ψυχῆς. τρέφεται δὲ οὐτὲ σιταῖσιν, οὐτὲ ποτίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆδος, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰ καὶ φωταυτεῖ περιουσιᾷ, γιγνόμενη ἐκ τῆς διακριτικῆς τοῦ αἵματος. Hippocrat. de Cordē, s. viii. Το μὲν αἷμα κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἔχον δύναμιν, αἷμα καὶ θερμὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑγρὸν. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii. qu. 10.

Nullius carnis sanguinem comeditis, nam anima omnis carnis est sanguis ejus. Levit. c. xvii. v. 14. ed Cleric.

⁶⁵⁸ Od. A. 152 et seq.

Ναὺν μὲν ἐνὶ ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ σωματίᾳ ἀργή.

Ἡμῖς ἐγκατεθῆκε πατρὶ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

Orphic. Αὔσπ. No. xxiv. ed. Gesner.

Secundum hanc philosophiam, ψυχὴ anima est, quæ vivunt, spirant, aluntur τε μεθύου. νοῦς mens est, divinus quiddam, quibusdam animabus superadditum, sive inditum, a Deo. Gesner. Not. in eund.

⁶⁵⁹ ———— Οἷμα τῆς ψυχῆς

Μαντιὸς αἵμα, τοῦ τε φρένους ἐμπεδοκλείου.

Τῆ καὶ τεθνεῖσιν νοῦν ποιεῖ Περσεφονεία,

Οἷον πεπυσσέναι. Odys. K. v. 492.

⁶⁶⁰ Pausan. in Corinth. c. xxiv. 1.

⁶⁶¹ Τὸν γὰρ ἔλεοντο τοὺς μύθους, ὅτι παλαιὰ τὸν ἀγαλμάτων ἐχρῶτο. Plutarch. ἐν Ρωμαίων. See also Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. xxxvi (vii); and Winkelman. Hist. des Arts, liv. i. c. ii. s. 2.

Enumerat auctores Verrius, quibus credere sit necesse, Jovis ipsius simulachri faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam, triumphantumque corpora: sic Camillus triumphasse. Plin. ut supra.

⁶⁶² Orph. Hymn. xlv. The λικνός, however, was the mystic sieve in which Bacchus was cradled; from which the title may have been derived, though the form of it implies an active rather than a passive sense. See Hesych. in voc.

⁶⁶³ Mystica vannus Iacchi. Georg. 1. 166. Osiris has the winnow in one hand, and the hook of attraction in the other; which are more distinctly expressed in the large bronze figure of him engraved in pl. ii. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens, than in any other that we know. Even in the common small figures it is strange that it should ever have been taken for a whip; though it might reasonably have been taken for a flail, had the ancients used such an instrument in thrashing corn.

⁶⁶⁴ Certè ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammās;

Virgaque rotatas laurea misit aquas.

Ovid. Fast. lib. iv. ver. 727.

brand, taken flaming from the altar and dipped in water.⁶⁵² The exile at his return, and the bride at her marriage, went through ceremonies of this kind to signify their purification and regeneration for a new life;⁶⁵⁷ and they appear to have been commonly practised as modes of expiation or extenuation for private or secret offences.⁶⁵⁸ A solemn ablution, too, always preceded initiation into the Ægyptian and Eleusinian mysteries;⁶⁵⁹ and when a Jewish proselyte was admitted, he was baptised in the presence of three witnesses, after being circumcised, but before he was allowed to make the oblation by which he professed himself a subject of the true God. As this ceremony was supposed to wash off all stains of idolatry, the person baptised was said to be regenerated, and animated with a new soul; to preserve which in purity, he abandoned every former connexion of country, relation, or friend.⁶⁴⁰

167. Baptism or purification by fire, is still in use among the Hindoos, as it was among the earliest Romans;⁶⁴¹ and also among the native Irish; men, women, and children, and even cattle, in Ireland, leaping over, or passing through the sacred bonfires annually kindled in honor of Baal;⁶⁴² an ancient title of the Sun, which seems to have prevailed in the Northern as well as Eastern dialects: whence arose the compound titles of the Scandinavian deities, Baldur, Habaldur, &c. expressing different personified attributes.⁶⁴³ This rite was probably the abomination, so severely reprobated by the sacred historians of the Jews, *of parents making their sons and daughters pass through the fire*: for, in India, it is still performed by mothers passing through the flames with their children in their arms;⁶⁴⁴ and though commentators have construed the expression in the Bible to mean the burning them alive, as offerings to Baal Moloch, it is more consonant to reason, as well as to history, to suppose that it alluded to this more innocent mode of purification and consecration to the Deity, which continued in use among the ancient inhabitants of Italy to the later periods of Heathenism; when it was performed exactly as it is now in Ireland, and held to be a holy and mystic means of communion with the great active principle of the universe.⁶⁴⁵

168. It must, however, be admitted that the Carthaginians and other nations of antiquity did occasionally sacrifice their children to their gods, in the most cruel and barbarous manner; and, indeed, there is scarcely any people whose history does not afford some instances of such abominable rites. Even the patriarch Abraham, when ordered to sacrifice his only son, does not appear to have been surprised or startled at it, or to have conceived the slightest suspicion that it might have been the contrivance of an evil being to seduce him: neither could Jephtha have had any notion that such sacrifices were odious or even unacceptable to the Deity, or he would not have considered his daughter as included in his general vow, or imagined that a breach of it in such an instance could be a greater crime than fulfilling it. Another mode of mystic purification by baptism was the Taurobolium, Ægobolium, or Criobolium of the Mithriac rites; which preceded Christianity but a short time in the Roman empire, and spread and flourished with it. The catechumen was placed in a pit covered with perforated boards; upon which the victim, whether a bull, a goat, or a ram, was sacrificed so as to bathe him in the blood which flowed from it. To this the compositions, so frequent in the sculptures of the third and fourth centuries, of Mithras the Persian Mediator, or his female personification a

⁶⁵² Ἐστὶ δὲ (χρονὸν) ὕδωρ εἰς ὃ ἀπὸ βαπτιστοῦ δαλὸν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ λαμβανόντες, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν θύσαν ἐπετάλουν· καὶ τοῦτο περιβαίνοντες τοὺς παρόντας ἡγνίζον. Athén. lib. ix. p. 409.

⁶⁵⁷ Ovid. Fast. lib. iv. v. 792. et Cnippin. Not. in eund. Το πῦρ καθαίρει καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἡγνίζει, δεῖ δὲ καθάραι καὶ ἡγναι ἐμμένειν τὴν γαμήθειαν. Plutarch. Quest. Rom. i.

⁶⁵⁸ Βουλόμενα δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀθηνῶν ποιήσαι, τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ καταβῆναι τὸ βρῆφος, καὶ περιεῖναι τὰς θνήσας σάρκας αὐτοῦ. Apollodorus. Biblioth. lib. i. c. v. s. 1.

⁶⁵⁹ Ovid. ib. lib. v. 789. ⁶⁴⁰ Apuleii Metamorph. lib. xi. p. 255. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. 53.

⁶⁴¹ Marsham Canon Chronic. s. ix. p. 192.

⁶⁴² Ποσειδωνος πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν γενέσθαι κτενέουσιν (ὁ Ρωμύλος) ἐξαγαγε τὸν λίον τὰς φλόγας ὑπερβώσκοντα τῆς δάσιως τῶν σωματικῶν ἐνέκα. Dionys. Hal. A. R. I. lxxxviii.

⁶⁴³ Collectan. de reb. Hibernic. No. v. p. 64.

⁶⁴⁴ OL Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 140.

⁶⁴⁵ Ayeen Akbery, and Maurice's Antiquities of India, vol. v. p. 1075.

⁶⁴⁶ Moxque per ardentis stipulæ crepitantis acervos

Trajicias celeri strenua membra pede.

Expositus mos est: moris mihi restat origo.

Turba facit dubium; ceptaque nostra tenet.

Omnia purgat edax ignis, viciūque metallis

Excoquit: idcirco cum duce purgat oves.

At, quia cunctarum contraria semina rerum

Sunt duo, discordes ignis et unda dei;

Junxerunt elementa patres: aptumque putarunt

Ignibus, et sparsâ tangere corpus aquâ?

At, quod in his vitæ causa est; hæc perdidit exul:

His nova fit conjux: hæc duo magna putant? Ovid. Fast. lib. iv. 781.

winged Victory, sacrificing a bull, seem to allude:⁶⁴⁶ but all that we have seen are of late date, except a single instance of the Criobolium or Victory sacrificing a ram, on a gold coin of Abydos, in the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight, which appears anterior to the Macedonian conquest.

169. The celestial or ætherial soul was represented in symbolical writing by the butterfly; an insect which first appears from the egg in the shape of a grub, crawling upon the earth, and feeding upon the leaves of plants. In this state it was aptly made an emblem of man in his earthly form; when the ætherial vigor and activity of the celestial soul, the *divinæ particula mentis*, was clogged and encumbered with the material body. In its next state, the grub becoming a chrysalis appeared, by its stillness, torpor, and insensibility, a natural image of death, or the intermediate state between the cessation of the vital functions of the body, and the emancipation of the soul in the funeral pile: and the butterfly breaking from this torpid chrysalis, and mounting in the air, afforded a no less natural image of the celestial soul bursting from the restraints of matter, and mixing again with its native æther. Like other animal symbols, it was by degrees melted into the human form; the original wings only being retained, to mark its meaning. So elegant an allegory would naturally be a favorite subject of art among a refined and ingenious people; and it accordingly appears to have been more diversified and repeated by the Greek sculptors, than almost any other, which the system of emanations, so favorable to art, could afford. Being, however, a subject more applicable and interesting to individuals than communities, there is no trace of it upon any coin, though it so constantly occurs upon gems.

170. The fate of the terrestrial soul, the regions to which it retired at the dissolution of the body, and the degree of sensibility which it continued to enjoy, are subjects of much obscurity, and seem to have belonged to the poetry, rather than to the religion, of the ancients. In the *Odyssey* it is allowed a mere miserable existence in the darkness of the polar regions, without any reward for virtue or punishment for vice; the punishments described being evidently allegorical, and perhaps of a different, though not inferior author. The mystic system does not appear to have been then known to the Greeks, who caught glimmering lights and made up incoherent fables from various sources. Pindar, who is more systematic and consistent in his mythology than any other poet, speaks distinctly of rewards and punishments; the latter of which he places in the central cavities of the earth, and the former in the remote islands of the ocean, on the other side of the globe; to which none were admitted, but souls that had transmigrated three times into different bodies, and lived piously in each; after which they were to enjoy, undisturbed happiness in this state of ultimate bliss, under the mild rule of Rhadamanthus, the associate of ΚΡΟΝΟΣ or Time.⁶⁴⁷ A similar region of bliss in the extremities of the earth is spoken of in the *Odyssey*; but not as the retreat of the dead, but a country which Menelaus was to visit while living.⁶⁴⁸ Virgil has made up an incoherent mixture of fable and allegory, by bringing the regions of recompense, as well as those of punishment, into the centre of the earth; and then giving them the ætherial light of the celestial luminaries,⁶⁴⁹ without which even his powers of description could not have embellished them to suit their purpose. He has, also, after Plato,⁶⁵⁰ joined Tartarus to them, though it was not part of the regions regularly allotted to the dead by the ancient Greek mythologists; but a distinct and separate world beyond chaos, as far from earth, as earth from heaven.⁶⁵¹ According to another poetical fiction, the higher parts of the sublunary regions were appropriated to the future residence of the souls of the great and good, who alone seemed deserving of immortality.⁶⁵²

171. Opinions so vague and fluctuating had of course but little energy; and accordingly we never find either the hope of reward, or the fear of punishment after death, seriously employed by the Greek and Roman moralists as reasonable motives for human actions; or considered any otherwise than as matters of pleasing speculation or flattering error.⁶⁵³ Among the barbarians of the North,

⁶⁴⁶ See Bassirel. di Roma, tav. lviii-lx. &c.

⁶⁴⁷ *Olymp.* ii. 108-123. &c.

Τοιαι δὲ λαμπρὰ μὲν μνηστὴς αἰθίου ταν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κατὰ. Id. apud Plutarch. de Cons. ad Apoll. p. 120. Pind. inter fragm. e threnis. i. in ed. Heyn.

⁶⁴⁸ *Odys.* Δ. 563.

⁶⁴⁹ Solemque suum, sua sidera norunt. *Æn.* vi. 641.

⁶⁵⁰ *Phæd.* p. 83.

⁶⁵¹ Περὶν χάος ζοφύροιο. Hesiod. Theog. v. 814.

Τοσσην ἐνερθ' αἰθέρι, ὅσσον οὐρανὸς ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης. Homer. *Il.* 6. 16.

Milton's Hell is taken from the Tartarus of Hesiod, or whoever was the author of the Theogony which bears his name. His descriptions of Chaos are also drawn from the same source.

⁶⁵² Quâ niger astriferis connectitur axibus æer,
Quodque patet terras inter lunæque meatus,
Semidei manes habitant, quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vitæ patientes ætheris imi

Fecit, et æternos animam conlegit in orbes. Lucan. *Pharsal.* ix. 5.

⁶⁵³ Juvenal. *Sat.* ii. 149. Lucan. *Phars.* i. 458.

however, the case was very different. They all implicitly believed that their valor in this life was to be rewarded in the next, with what they conceived to be the most exquisite of all possible enjoyments. Every morning they were to fight a great and promiscuous battle; after which Odin was to restore the killed and wounded to their former strength and vigor, and provide a sumptuous entertainment for them in his hall, where they were to feed upon the flesh of a wild boar, and drink mead and ale out of the skulls of their enemies till night, when they were to go to bed with beautiful women.⁶⁵⁴ Mankind in general in all stages of society are apt to fashion their belief to their dispositions, and thus to make their religion a stimulus instead of a curb to their passions.

172. As fire was supposed to be the medium through which the soul passed from one state to another, Mercury the conductor was nearly related to Vulcan, the general personification of that element. The Ægyptians called him his son;⁶⁵⁵ and the Greeks, in some instances, represented him not only with the same cap, but also with the same features; so that they are only to be distinguished by the adscititious symbols.⁶⁵⁶ He has also, for the same reason, a near affinity with Hercules considered as the personification of the diurnal sun: wherefore they were not only worshipped together in the same temple,⁶⁵⁷ but blended into the same figure, called a Hermheracles from its having the characteristic forms or symbols of both mixed.⁶⁵⁸

173. As the operations of both art and nature were supposed to be equally carried on by means of fire, Vulcan is spoken of by the poets, sometimes as the husband of Grace or Elegance,⁶⁵⁹ and sometimes of Venus or Nature;⁶⁶⁰ the first of which appears to have been his character in the primary, and the second in the mystic or philosophical religion of the Greeks: for the whole of the song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, here alluded to, is an interpolation of a much later date;⁶⁶¹ and the story, which it contains, of Vulcan detecting Mars and Venus, and confining them in invisible chains, evidently a mystic allegory, signifying the active and passive powers of destruction and generation fixed in their mutual operation by the invisible exertions of the universal agent, fire. It was probably composed as a hymn to Vulcan, and inserted by some rhapsodist, who did not understand the character of the Homeric language, with which the Attic contraction 'Ηλιος for Ηελιος is utterly incompatible.

174. The Ægyptian worship, being under the direction of a permanent Hierarchy, was more fixed and systematic than that of the Greeks; though, owing to its early subversion, we have less knowledge of it. Hence the different personifications of fire were by them more accurately discriminated; Phthas, whom the Greeks call Hephaistus, and the Latins Vulcan, being the primitive universal element, or principle of life and motion in matter; Anubis, whom they called Hermes and Mercury, the Minister of Fate; and Thoth, whom they called by the same titles, the parent of Arts and Sciences. Phthas was said to be the father of all their Cabiri or chief gods;⁶⁶² and his name signified the *Ordinator* or *Regulator*, as it does still in the modern Coptic. His statues were represented lame, to signify that fire acts not alone, but requires the sustenance of some extraneous matter;⁶⁶³ and he was fabled by the Greek mythologists to have delivered Minerva from the head of Jupiter; that is, to have been the means by which the wisdom of the omnipotent Father, the pure emanation of the Divine Mind, was brought into action.

175. This pure emanation, which the Ægyptians called Neith,⁶⁶⁴ was considered as the goddess both of Force and Wisdom, the first in rank of the secondary deities,⁶⁶⁵ and the only one endowed with all the attributes of the supreme Father:⁶⁶⁶ for as wisdom is the most exalted quality of the mind, and the Divine Mind the perfection of wisdom, all its attributes are the attributes of wisdom; under whose direction its power is always exerted. Force and wisdom, therefore, when considered as attributes of the Deity, are the same; and Bellona and Minerva are but different titles for one personification. Both the Greeks and Ægyptians considered her as male and female;⁶⁶⁷ and upon

⁶⁵⁴ Mallet Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemarce.

⁶⁵⁵ Syncell. Chron. p. 124.

⁶⁵⁶ See coins of Æsennia, Lipara, &c.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Ηρακλειος δι κινουος και 'Ερμου προς τη σταδιη ναος. Paus.

⁶⁵⁸ Cicero. ad Attic. lib. i. ep. x.

⁶⁵⁹ Il. Σ. 382.

⁶⁶⁰ *Odys.* θ. 266.

⁶⁶¹ *Odys.* θ. 266-369.

⁶⁶² Herodot. lib. iii. 37.

⁶⁶³ Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib. i. c. ii. s. 11 et 13.

⁶⁶⁴ Οι της πολυως θεος αρχηγος εστιν, Αγγυπτιοι μεν τουνομα Νεθ, 'Ελληνιστι δε, ως ο ακεινων λογος, Αθηνα. Platon. Tim. p. 474.

⁶⁶⁵ Proximos illi tamen occupavit

Pallas honores. Horat. lib. i. Ode xii.

⁶⁶⁶ ———— Εστι μινω Ζευς τογε θυγατερων

Δωκεν Αθαναη πατρωια πάντα φερεινθαι.

Callimach. ιε λουρ. της Παλλ. γ. 132.

⁶⁶⁷ Αρεην μεν και θηλυς ιφος. Orph. Hymn. xxxi. ιε Αθην. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. lib. i. c. iii. s. 6.

monuments of art still extant, or accurately recorded, she is represented with almost every symbol of almost every attribute, whether of creation, preservation, or destruction.⁶⁶⁸

176. Before the human form was adopted, her proper symbol was the owl; a bird which seems to surpass all other creatures in acuteness and refinement of organic perception; its eye being calculated to discern objects, which to all others are enveloped in darkness; its ear to hear sounds distinctly, when no other can perceive them at all; and its nostrils to discriminate effluvia with such nicety, that it has been deemed prophetic from discovering the putridity of death, even in the first stages of disease.⁶⁶⁹ On some very ancient Phœnician coins, we find the owl with the hook of attraction and winnow of separation under its wing to show the dominion of Divine Wisdom over both; while on the reverse is represented the result of this dominion, in the symbolical composition of a male figure holding a bow in his hand, sitting upon the back of a winged horse terminating in the tail of a dolphin; beneath which are waves and another fish.⁶⁷⁰ A similar meaning was veiled under the fable of Minerva's putting the bride into the mouth of Pegasus,⁶⁷¹ or Divine Wisdom controlling and regulating the waters when endued with motion.

177. The Ægyptians are said to have represented the pervading Spirit or ruling providence of the Deity by the black beetle, which frequents the shores of the Mediterranean sea,⁶² and which some have supposed to be an emblem of the Sun.⁶³ It occurs very frequently upon Phœnician, Greek, and Etruscan, as well as Ægyptian sculptures; and is sometimes with the owl, and sometimes with the head of Minerva, upon the small brass coins of Athens. It is of the androgynous class, and lays its eggs in a ball of dung or other fermentable matter, which it had previously collected, and rolled backwards and forwards upon the sand of the sea, until it acquired the proper form and consistency; after which it buries it in the sand, where the joint operation of heat and moisture matures and vivifies the germs into new insects.⁶⁴ As a symbol, therefore, of the Deity, it might naturally have been employed to signify the attribute of Divine Wisdom, or ruling Providence, which directs, regulates, and employs the productive powers of nature.

178. When the animal symbols were changed for the human, Minerva was represented under the form of a robust female figure, with a severe, but elegant and intelligent countenance, and armed with a helmet, shield, and breast-plate, the emblems of preservation; and most frequently with a spear, the emblem, as well as the instrument of destruction. The helmet is usually decorated with some animal symbol; such as the owl, the serpent, the ram, the gryphon, or the sphinx; which is a species of gryphon, having the head of the female personification, instead of that of the eagle, upon the body of the lion. Another kind of gryphon, not unfrequent upon the helmets of Minerva, is composed of the eagle and horse,⁶⁷⁵ signifying the dominion of water instead of fire: whence came the symbol of the flying horse, already noticed. In other instances the female head and breast of the sphinx are joined to the body of a horse; which, in these compositions is always male, as well as that of the lion in the sphinx; so as to comprehend the attributes of both sexes.⁶⁷⁶ In the stand of a mirror of very ancient sculpture belonging to Mr. Payne Knight is a figure of Isis upon the back of a monkey with a sphinx on each side of her head, and another in her hand, the tail of which terminates in a phallus; so that it is a compound symbol of the same kind as the chimera and others before noticed. The monkey very rarely occurs in Greek sculptures, but was a sacred animal among the Ægyptians, as it still continues to be in some parts of Tartary and India; but on account of what real or imaginary property is now uncertain.

179. The ægis or breast-plate of Minerva is, as the name indicates, the goat-skin, the symbol of the productive power, fabled to have been taken from the goat which suckled Jupiter; that is, from the great nutritive principle of nature. It is always surrounded with serpents, and generally covered

⁶⁰⁸ The celebrated statue of her at Athens by Phidias held a spear, near which was a serpent. Pausan. in Att. xxiv. s. 7. A sacred serpent was also kept in her great temple in the Acropolis. Aristoph. Lysistrat. v. 758.

Και Αθηνάς (αγαλμα) επικλησιν και ταυτης 'Υγιαιας. Pausan. in Attic. c. xxiii. n. 5.

See also medals of Athens, in which almost every symbol occasionally accompanies the owl.

¹⁶⁰ And this we have known instances, in which the nocturnal clamors of the screech-owl have really foretold death, according to the vulgar notion.

⁶⁷⁰ See Dutens *Médailles Phénic.* pl. i. v. i.

⁶⁷¹ Pausan. in Corinth. c. iv. s. 1.

⁶² Horapoll, l. i. c. x.

⁶⁷² Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. p. 380.

⁶⁴ Το δε καθάρων γένος ουκ ἔχειν θηλειαν, ἀρρενας δὲ πάντας αἰναι τὸν γόνον εἰς τὴν σφαιροποιουμένην ὕλην, ἣν κυλιδοῦσιν ἀντιβάζοντες, ὥστερ δοκεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τουναντίον περιστρεφείν, αὐτὸς ἀπο δυσμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς φερόμενος. Ibid.

Τον δε ἤλιον *καυθαίρω* (απεικαζόν οἱ Ἀργυνοίτιαι) ἐπειδὴ κυλοῦντες ἐκ τῆς βροίας οὐθοῦ σχήματι πλασάμενος, ἀντιπροσώπως κυλινδρεῖται φησὶ καὶ ἔξαμνον μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς* θατερον δὲ τοῦ ἐντος τμήμα το ζῶον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ γῆς διατασθαι, σπέρμαινεν τε εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν καὶ γεννῶν, καὶ θηλυν *καυθαίρων* μὴ γίνεσθαι. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. c. iv.

⁶⁵ See medals of Velia, &c.

⁶⁷⁶ Hence the *ανδροσφειγγες* of Herodotus, lib. ii. 175.

with plumage; and in the centre of it is the Gorgo or Medusa, which appears to have been a symbol of the Moon.⁶⁷⁷ exhibited sometimes with the character and expression of the destroying, and sometimes with those of the generative or preserving attribute; the former of which is expressed by the title of Gorgo, and the latter by that of Medusa.⁶⁷⁸ It is sometimes represented with serpents, and sometimes with fish, in the hair; and occasionally with almost every symbol of the passive generative or productive power; it being the female personification of the Disk, by which almost all the nations of antiquity represented the Sun;⁶⁷⁹ and this female personification was the symbol of the Moon. Among the Romans, the golden bulla or disk was worn by the young men, and the crescent by the women, as it still is in the South of Italy; and it seems that the same symbolical amulets were in use among the ancient inhabitants of the British islands; several of both having been found made of thin beaten gold both in England and Ireland; which were evidently intended to be hung round the neck.⁶⁸⁰ Each symbol, too, occasionally appears worn in like manner upon the figures of Juno or Ceres, which cannot always be discriminated; and the Disk between horns, which seem to form a crescent, is likewise upon the heads of Isis and Osiris, as well as upon those of their animal symbols, the cow and bull.⁶⁸¹

180. The ægis employed occasionally by Jupiter, Minerva, and Apollo, in the *Iliad*, seems to have been something very different from the symbolical breast-plate or thorax, which appears in monuments of art now extant; it being borne and not worn; and used to excite courage or instil fear, and not for defence.⁶⁸² The name *Ægis*, however, still seems to imply that it is derived from the same source and composed of the same material; though instead of serpents, or other symbolical ornaments, it appears to have been decorated with golden tassels or knobs hanging loosely from it; the shaking and rattling of which produced the effects above mentioned.⁶⁸³ Vulcan is said to have made it for Jupiter;⁶⁸⁴ and to have furnished it with all those terrific attributes, which became so splendid and magnificent when personified in poetry.

181. Stripped, however, of all this splendor and magnificence, it was probably nothing more than a symbolical instrument, signifying originally the motion of the elements, like the *sistrum* of Isis, the cymbals of Cybele,⁶⁸⁵ the bells of Bacchus, &c.; whence Jupiter is said to have overcome the Titans with his ægis, as Isis drove away Typhon with her *sistrum*;⁶⁸⁶ and the ringing of bells and clatter of

⁶⁷⁷ Γοργόναυον την σέληνν δια το εν αυτη προσωπον. Orph. in Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 676. ed. Oxon.

⁶⁷⁸ ΓΟΡΓΩ is said to have been a barbarian title of Minerva, as ΒΕΝΔΕΙΑ and ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ were of Diana. Palephat. fab. xxxii. ΜΕΔΟΥΣΑ is the participle of the verb ΜΕΔΩ to govern or take care of. In a beautiful intaglio, the work of Anteros, belonging to Mr. Payne Knight, Perseus sustains the Medusa in his hand, while the Gorgo occupies the centre of a shield, on which he rests his harp.

⁶⁷⁹ See authorities before cited.

⁶⁸⁰ Παιονες σβένουσι τον Ήλιον αγαλμα δε Ήλιου Παιονικον δισκος βραχυν ὑπερ μακρον ξίλου. Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. a. 8.

⁶⁸¹ One three inches in diameter, found in the Isle of Man, is in the collection of Mr. Payne Knight, and another, found in Lancashire, in that of the late C. Townley, Esq.

⁶⁸² Μεταξὺν δε των κερων, ὁ του ἡλιου κυλινδρος μωμμημενος ἐπιστι χροστος· ἐστι δε ἡ βους οὐκ ορθη, ἀλλ' ἐν γυναικι κειμενη. Herodot. lib. ii. 132.

⁶⁸³ ————— Μετα δε ῥηλακωπας Αθηνα,

Αργιδ' εχουσα' ἐριτιμον

* * * * *

Συν τη παφασπουσα διςσυστο λαον Αχαιων,
Οτρυνονα' νειαι' εν δε σθινος ωσαν εκαστου
Καρδιη, αλλησθεν πολυμυξιν, ηδε μαχισθαι. B. 446.
Ζευς δε σφιν Κροντιδης, ἡφιζυγος, αθιρι ναιων,
Αυτος επισσεισεν τριμην Αργιδα πασι,
Της δ' σπατης κοτωσιν. Δ. 166.

See also O. 308 and 318.

⁶⁸⁴ Αργιδ' εχουσα' ἐριτιμον, σγηρασιν, αθανασην τε
Της ἱεατον θησιναι παγχροστοι ηρεβιντο,
Παντες εὐπλεκες' ἐκατομβωας δε ἱεαστος. B. 447.

⁶⁸⁵ ————— Εχε δ' αργιδα θυον
Δεινον, αμφιδασιναι, σρεπρεπ', ἦν ἀρη χαλκευ
Ἠφαιστος Δι δουκι φορμεναι ις φοβον ανδρων. O. 308.
Αμφι δ' ἀρ' ὤρωσιν βαλετ' αργιδα θυσανοισσαν
Δεινον, ἦν περι μιν παυτη φοβος ἐσπεφανωτο·
Εν δ' ἔρις, εν δ' ἄλκη, εν δε κρουσσεα Ιωκη·
Εν δε τε Γοργει κέφαλη δεινοιο πελωρον,
Δεινη τε σμερδνη τε, Διος τερας αργισχαι. E. 738.

⁶⁸⁶ Σοι μιν καταρχαι, Ματρη, παρα
Μεγαλοι ρομβοι ενμβαλων. Pindar. ap. Strab. lib. x. p. 469.

⁶⁸⁷ Τον γαρ Τυφωνα φαισι τωις σιαστροις αποτρεπναι και αποκομισθαι, δηλονστις, ὅτι της φθορας συνδουσης και ἰσταςης, αυθις ενάλει την φυσιν, και ανιστασι δια της κινησιως ἡ γενεσις. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 376.

metals were almost universally employed as a mean of consecration, and a charm against the destroying and inert powers.⁶⁸⁷ Even the Jews welcomed the new Moon with such noises;⁶⁸⁸ which the simplicity of the early ages employed almost everywhere to relieve her during eclipses, supposed then to be morbid affections brought on by the influence of an adverse power. The title Priapus, by which the generative attribute is distinguished, seems to be merely a corruption of ΠΡΙΑΠΥΟΣ, *clamorous*; the B and Π being commutable letters, and epithets of similar meaning being continually applied both to Jupiter and Bacchus by the poets.⁶⁸⁹ Many priapic figures, too, still extant, have bells attached to them;⁶⁹⁰ as the symbolical statues and temples of the Hindoos have; and to wear them was a part of the worship of Bacchus among the Greeks;⁶⁹¹ whence we sometimes find them of extremely small size, evidently meant to be worn as amulets with the phalli, lunulae, &c. The chief priests of the Egyptians, and also the high priest of the Jews, hung them, as sacred emblems, to their sacerdotal garments;⁶⁹² and the Bramins still continue to ring a small bell at the intervals of their prayers, ablutions, and other acts of mystic devotion. The Lacedæmonians beat upon a brass vessel or pan, on the death of their kings;⁶⁹³ and we still retain the custom of tolling a bell on such occasions; though the reason of it is not generally known, any more than that of other remnants of ancient superstitions still existing.⁶⁹⁴

182. An opinion very generally prevailed among the ancients, that all the constituent parts of the great machine of the universe were mutually dependent upon each other; and that the luminaries of heaven, while they contributed to fecundate and organise terrestrial matter, were in their turn nourished and sustained by exhalations drawn from the humidity of the earth and its atmosphere. Hence the Egyptians placed the personifications of the Sun and Moon in boats;⁶⁹⁵ while the Greeks, among whom the horse was a symbol of humidity, placed them in chariots, drawn sometimes by two, sometimes by three, and sometimes by four of these animals; which is the reason of the number of Bigæ, Trigæ, and Quadrigæ, which we find upon coins: for they could not have had any reference to the public games, as has been supposed; a great part of them having been struck by states, which, not being of Hellenic origin, had never the privilege of entering the lists on those occasions. The vehicle itself appears likewise to have been a symbol of the passive generative power, or the means by which the emanations of the Sun acted; whence the Delphians called Venus by the singular title of *The Chariot*;⁶⁹⁶ but the same meaning is more frequently expressed by the figure called a Victory accompanying; and by the fish, or some other symbol of the waters under it. In some instances we have observed composite symbols signifying both attributes in this situation; such as the lion destroying the bull, or the Scylla;⁶⁹⁷ which is a combination of emblems of the same kind as those which compose the sphinx and chimæra, and has no resemblance whatever to the fabulous monster described in the *Odyssey*.

183. Almost every other symbol is occasionally employed as an accessory to the chariot, and among them the thunderbolt; which is sometimes borne by Minerva and other deities, as well as by Jupiter; and is still oftener represented alone upon coins; it having been an emblem, not merely of the destroying attribute, but of the Divine nature in general: whence the Arcadians sacrificed to thunder, lightning, and tempest;⁶⁹⁸ and the incarnate Deity, in an ancient Indian poem, says, "I am the thunderbolt."⁶⁹⁹ "I am the fire residing in the bodies of all things which have life."⁷⁰⁰ In the South-Eastern parts of Europe, which frequently suffer from drought, thunder is esteemed a grateful rather than terrific sound, because it is almost always accompanied with rain; which scarcely ever

⁶⁸⁷ Schol. in Theocrit. Idyl. ii. 36.

— Temesmaque concepat æra,

Et rogat ut tectis exeat umbra suis. Ovid. Fast. lib. v. 441.

⁶⁸⁸ Numer. c. x. v. 10.

⁶⁸⁹ Such as εριβρημης, εριγδουπος, βρομος, &c. ⁶⁹⁰ Bronzi d'Ercolano, t. vi. tav. xcvi.

⁶⁹¹ Διονυσιακον δι — τους βασιλεις κωδικοφορεισθαι, και τυμπανιζεσθαι κατα τας θυζοδους. Megasthen. apud Strab. lib. xv. p. 712.

⁶⁹² Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. iv. qu. v. Exod. c. xxviii.

⁶⁹³ Schol. in Theocrit. l. c.

⁶⁹⁴ "It is said," says the Golden Legend by Wynkyn de Worde, "the evil spyrtes that ben in the regyon of th' ayre double moche when they here the belles ronnen: and this is the cause why the belles ben ronnen when it thondreth, and when grete tempeste and outrages of wether happen, to the end that the feindes and wycked spyrtes shold be abashed and flee, and cease of the moving of the tempeste." p. 90.

Εκεινα μιν γαρ (τα φασματα) ην φοβου ακουση χαλκον η σιδερον πεφηνγν. Lucian. Philops. 15.

⁶⁹⁵ 'Ηλιον δε και σεληνην ουχ ἄρμασιν ἀλλὰ πλοικς σχημασι χρωμενους περιπλεν αι, αυτοινομοι την αφ' ὅρου τροφην αυτων και γενεσιν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 364.

⁶⁹⁶ — Ουτε Δελφους ελεγχει ληροντας, οτι την Αφροδιτην ἄρμα κολουσιν. Plutarch. Amator. p. 769.

⁶⁹⁷ See coins of Agrigentum, Heracles in Italy, Allia, &c.

⁶⁹⁸ Και θουοισιν ποταμικς αυτοις, και θυλλαις, και βροντικς. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxix.

⁶⁹⁹ Bagvat Geeta, p. 86 and 113.

Αι ημετεραι ψυχαι πυρ εισι. Thurnut. de Nat. Deor. c. ii.

falls there without it.⁷⁰⁰ This rain, descending from ignited clouds, was supposed to be impregnated with electric or æthereal fire, and therefore to be more nutritive and prolific than any other water.⁷⁰¹ whence the thunderbolt was employed as the emblem of fecundation and nutrition, as well as of destruction. The coruscations which accompany its explosions being thought to resemble the glimmering flashes which proceed from burning sulphur; and the smell of the fixed air arising from objects stricken by it being the same as that which arises from the mineral, men were led to believe that its fires were of a sulphurous nature.⁷⁰² wherefore the flames of sulphur were employed in all lustrations, purifications, &c.,⁷⁰³ as having an affinity with divine or æthereal fire; to which its name in the Greek language has been supposed to refer.⁷⁰⁴ To represent the thunderbolt, the ancient artists joined two obelisks pointing contrary ways from one centre, with spikes or arrows diverging from them; thus signifying its luminous essence and destructive power. Wings were sometimes added, to signify its swiftness and activity; and the obelisks were twisted into spiral forms, to show the whirl in the air caused by the vacuum proceeding from the explosion; the origin of which, as well as the productive attribute, was signified by the aquatic plants, from which they sprang.⁷⁰⁵

184. After the conquests of Alexander had opened a communication with India, Minerva was frequently represented with the elephant's skin upon her head instead of the helmet;⁷⁰⁶ the elephant having been, from time immemorial, the symbol of divine wisdom among the Gentos; whose god Gonnis or Pollear is represented by a figure of this animal half humanised; which the Macha Alla, or god of destruction of the Tartars, is usually seen trampling upon.⁷⁰⁷ On some of the coins of the Seleucidae, the elephant is represented with the horns of the bull; sometimes drawing the chariot of Minerva, in her character of Bellona; and at others bearing a torch, the emblem of the universal agent fire, in his proboscis, and the cornucopie, the result of its exertion under the direction of Divine Wisdom, in his tail.

185. The ram has been already noticed as the symbol of Mercury; but at Sais in Ægypt, it seems to have represented some attribute of Minerva;⁷⁰⁸ upon a small bust of whom, belonging to Mr. Payne Knight, it supplies the ornament for the visor of the helmet, as the sphinx does that of the crest; the whole composition showing the passive and active powers of generation and destruction, as attributes of Divine Wisdom. In another small bronze of very ancient workmanship, which has been the handle of a vase, rams are placed at the feet, and lions at the head, of an androgynous figure of Bacchus, which still more distinctly shows their meaning; and in the ancient metropolitan temple of the North, at Upsal in Sweden, the great Scandinavian goddess Isa was represented riding upon a ram, with an owl in her hand.⁷⁰⁹ Among the Ægyptians, however, Ammon was the deity most commonly represented under this symbol; which was usually half humanised, as it appears in pl. i. vol. i. of the Select Specimens; in which form he was worshipped in the celebrated oracular temple in Libya, as well as in that of Thebes;⁷¹⁰ and was the father of that Bacchus who is equally represented with the ram's horns, but young and beardless.

186. Ammon, according to some accounts, corresponded with the Jupiter,⁷¹¹ and according to others, with the Pan⁷¹² of the Greeks; and probably he was something between both, like the

⁷⁰⁰ *Grateful as thunder in summer*, is a simile of Tasso's; who, notwithstanding his frequent and close imitations of the ancients, has copied nature more accurately than any Epic poet except Homer.

⁷⁰¹ Τα ἑσπερασια των ὑδατων ἐν ἀλλῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ γινωργοι, καὶ νομίζουσι. — τὰς βροταῖς πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεκπίπτει γαιήμων· αἷτια δὲ ἡ τῆς θερμότητος ἀνεμίξις. — τὸ κεραυνίον πυρ ἀκροβύει καὶ λυττάσθαι θυμιάσθων ἐστι. Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. iv. qu. 2. pp. 664-5.

⁷⁰² Ἀφρὴ ἀργητὰ κεραυνῶν,
* * *

Δεινὴ δὲ φλόξ ὥρτο θεῶν καυμνοῖο. Iliad θ. 135-137.

⁷⁰³ — Cupere lustrari, si qua darentur

Sulphura cum tædis, et si foret humida laurus. Juvenal. Sat. ii. v. 157.

⁷⁰⁴ Οἶμαι καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνομασθαι τῇ βροιοῦσθι τῆς οὐρῆς, ἣν τα παιαῖνα τοὺς κεραυνούς φέρουσιν. Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. iv. qu. 2. p. 665.

⁷⁰⁵ See coins of Syracuse, Seleucia, Alexander I. king of Epirus, Elis, &c. Upon some of the most ancient of the latter, however, it is more simply composed of flames only, diverging both ways.

⁷⁰⁶ See coins of Alexander II. king of Epirus, and some of the Ptolemies.

⁷⁰⁷ See coins of Seleucus I. Antiochus VI. &c.

⁷⁰⁸ Τούτου δὲ τοῦ νομοῦ μέγιστος πόλις Σαῖς — τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγός ἐστιν, Ἀγχιτύσιτι μὲν τοῦνομα Νηθεύ, Ἑλληστίσι δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐκεῖνων λόγος, Ἀθρηα. Platon. Time. Serr. vol. iii. p. 21.

Τίμωσι Σαῖται προβατὸν καὶ θηβαῖται. Strabon. lib. xvii. p. 812.

⁷⁰⁹ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. vol. ii. p. 209. fig. B.

⁷¹⁰ Αὐτοῦ τούτου κριοπρασποῦν τυγάλμα τοῦ Διὸς ποιεῖται Ἀγχιτύσι· αὐτοῦ δὲ Ἀγχιτύσιων Ἀμμωνίου, ἐόντες Ἀγχιτύσιων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀποικοὶ, καὶ φύνην μιν αὐτῶν ἀφοστειρῶν νομίζοντες. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 42.

⁷¹¹ Ἀμμων γὰρ Ἀγχιτύσι καλοῦσιν τὸν Δία. Ibid.

⁷¹² Τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν (Ἀμμων) τῇ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 854.

Lycæan Pan, the most ancient and revered deity of the Arcadians, the most ancient people of Greece.⁷¹³ His title was employed by the Ægyptians as a common form of appellation towards each other, as well as of solemn invocation to the Deity, in the same manner as we employ the title of Lord, and the French that of Seigneur; and it appears to have been occasionally compounded with other words, and applied to other deities.⁷¹⁴ According to Jablonski, who explains it from the modern Coptic, it signified precisely the same as the epithet Lycæan, that is *lucid*, or productive of light.⁷¹⁵ It may therefore have been applied with equal propriety to either Jupiter or Pan; the one being the luminous æthereal spirit considered abstractedly, and the other, as diffused through the mass of universal matter. Hence Pan is called, in the Orphic Hymns, *Jupiter the mover of all things*, and described as harmonising them by the music of his pipe.⁷¹⁶ He is also called the *pervader of the sky*⁷¹⁷ and of the *sea*,⁷¹⁸ to signify the principle of order diffused through heaven and earth; and the Arcadians called him the *Lord of matter*,⁷¹⁹ which title is expressed in the Latin name Sylvanus; SYLVA, 'YAFa, and 'YAH, being the same word written according to the different modes of pronouncing of different dialects. In a choral ode of Sophocles, he is addressed by the title of *Author and director of the dances of the gods*;⁷²⁰ as being the author and disposer of the regular motions of the universe, of which these divine dances were symbols.⁷²¹ According to Pindar, this Arcadian Pan was the associate or husband of Rhea,⁷²² and consequently the same as Saturn, with whom he seems to be confounded in the ancient coins above cited (s. 112.); some of them having the half-humanised horse, and others the figure commonly called Silenus, which is no other than Pan, in the same attitudes with the same female.

187. Among the Greeks all dancing was of the mimetic kind: wherefore Aristotle classes it with poetry, music, and painting, as being equally an imitative art:⁷²³ and Lucian calls it a science of imitation and exhibition, which explained the conceptions of the mind, and certified to the organs of sense things naturally beyond their reach.⁷²⁴ To such a degree of refinement was it carried, that Athenæus speaks of a Pythagorean, who could display the whole system of his sect in such gesticulations, more clearly and strongly than a professed rhetorician could in words;⁷²⁵ for the truth of which, however, we do not vouch, the attempt being sufficient. Dancing was also a part of the ceremonial in all mystic rites;⁷²⁶ whence it was held in such high esteem, that the philosopher Socrates, and the poet Sophocles, both persons of exemplary gravity, and the latter of high political rank and dignity, condescended to cultivate it as an useful and respectable accomplishment.⁷²⁷ The author of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, describes that God accompanying his lyre with the dance, joined by other deities;⁷²⁸ and a Corinthian poet, cited by Athenæus, introduces the Father of gods and men employed in the same exercise.⁷²⁹ The ancient Indians, too, paid their devotions to the Sun by a dance imitative of his motions, which they performed every morning and evening, and which was their only act of

⁷¹³ Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur

Arcades: et Lunâ gens prior illa fuit. Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. v. 289.

They were of the Pelasgian race, and being in possession of a poor and mountainous country, they kept it, whilst the more fertile parts of Greece were continually changing inhabitants. Thucyd. lib. i. c. ii. Herodot. lib. i. s. 146. Pausan. in Arcad. c. i. Their being anterior to Jupiter and the Moon, means no more than that they were anterior to the established religion, by which the divine personifications were ascertained, and made distinct objects of worship.

⁷¹⁴ Σπενδονσι καὶ Ἡρᾷ τε Ἀμυμονίῃ, καὶ Παρᾶμμονι. Ἐρμιον δὲ ἐπαλῆσις ἐστὶν ὁ Παρᾶμμων. Pausan. in Eliac. I. c. xv. a. 7.

⁷¹⁵ Ἐκαταίος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τούτῃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῇ ῥήματι χρῆσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τινα προσκαλόντας προσελπίσιν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὴν φωνήν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 354.

Mr. Bryant says, that this was calling each other Ammonians, Pref. p. 7.

⁷¹⁶ Panth. Ægypt. lib. ii. c. ii. s. 12.

⁷¹⁷ Ζεὺς ὁ κεραστός. Hymn. x. ver. 12.

Ζεὺς δὲ τε πάντων ἐστὶ θεὸς, πάντων τε κεραστός

Πνεύμασι σπνρίζων, φωναίσι τε ἀερομυκτός.

Fragm. No. xxviii. ver. 13. ed. Gesn.

⁷¹⁸ Αἰθεροπλάγκτος. Orph. Hymn. v.

⁷¹⁹ Ἀαῖπλάγκτος. Sophocl. Aj. 703.

⁷²⁰ Τὸν τῆς ὕλης κερσιν. Macrobi. Sat. i. c. xxii.

⁷²¹ ὦ παν, παν, ἀπτελαγχεὶ κυλλανίως χανοκτυπού
πετραίως ἀπο δειρεδὸς φανήθ', ὦ
θῶν χοροσσοί' ἀναξ, ὅπως μοι
νῦστα κνωσὶ ὀρχήματ' αὐτοδὴν ζῆνων ἀψής. Sophocl. ut supra.

⁷²² Ἡ γυνὴ χορῆα τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς τῶν πλανήτων συμπλοκή, καὶ κυνήμιος αὐτῶν καινίσμα, καὶ εὐτακτοῦς ἔργασινα, τῆς πρωτογονοῦ ὀρχήσεως διαγράμα ἐστὶ. Lucian. de Saltatione. c. vii.

⁷²³ Schol. in Pind. Pyth. iii. 138.

⁷²⁴ Poetic. c. i.

⁷²⁵ Μυθολογία τις ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, καὶ δεικτική, καὶ τῶν ἐννοηθέντων ἐξαγορευτική, καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀσφηνιστική. Lucian. de Saltat. c. xxxvi.

⁷²⁶ Delirnos. lib. I. c. xvi.

⁷²⁷ Lucian. ut supra.

⁷²⁸ Τίλερην ἀρχαίαν οὐδέμιαν, ἐστὶν τυρεν, ἀνεν ὀρχήσεως.

⁷²⁹ Athenæ. ut supra. c. xix.

⁷²⁹ Athenæ. ib. Ver. 194-206.

worship.⁷³⁰ Among the Greeks the Cuossian dances were peculiarly sacred to Jupiter, as the Nysian were to Bacchus, both of which were under the direction of Pan;⁷³¹ who, being the principle of universal order, partook of the nature of all the other gods; they being personifications of particular modes of acting of the great all-ruling principle, and he of his general law of pre-established harmony; whence, upon an ancient earthen vase of Greek workmanship, he is represented playing upon a pipe, between two figures, the one male and the other female; over the latter of which is written ΝΟΟΣΣ, and over the former ΑΑΚΟΣ; whilst he himself is distinguished by the title ΜΟΑΚΟΣ: so that this composition explicitly shows him in the character of universal harmony, resulting from mind and strength; these titles being, in the ancient dialect of Magna Græcia, where the vase was found, the same as ΝΟΥΣ, ΑΑΚΗ, and ΜΟΑΗΗ, in ordinary Greek. The ancient dancing, however, which held so high a rank among liberal and sacred arts, was entirely imitative; and esteemed honorable or otherwise, in proportion to the dignity or indignity of what it was meant to express. The highest was that which exhibited military exercises and exploits with the most perfect skill, grace, and agility; excellence in which was often honored by a statue in some distinguished attitude;⁷³² and we strongly suspect, that the figure commonly called "The fighting Gladiator," is one of them; there being a very decided character of individuality both in the form and features; and it would scarcely have been quite naked, had it represented any event of history.

188. Pan, like other mystic deities, was wholly unknown to the first race of poets; there being no mention of him in either the Iliad, or the Odyssey, or in the genuine poem of Hesiod; and the mythologists of later times having made him a son of Mercury by Penelope, the wife of Ulysses; a fiction, perhaps, best accounted for by the conjecture of Herodotus, that the terrestrial genealogies of the mystic deities, Pan, Bacchus, and Hercules, are mere fables, bearing date from the supposed time of their becoming objects of public worship.⁷³³ Both in Greece and Ægypt, Pan was commonly represented under the symbolical form of the goat half humanised;⁷³⁴ from which are derived his subordinate ministers or personified emanations, called Satyrs, Fauns, Tituri, ΠΑΝΙΣΚΟΙ, &c.; who, as well as their parent, were wholly unknown to the ancient poets. Neither do they appear to have been known in Ægypt, though a late traveller was so singularly fortunate as to find a mask of a Caprine Satyr upon an ancient Ægyptian lyre represented in the ancient paintings of the Thebaid; in a form, indeed, so unlike that of any ancient people, and so like to a Welsh or Irish harp, that we cannot but suspect it to be merely an embellishment of an idea that he carried out with him.⁷³⁵ M. Denon, in his more accurate and extensive survey of the same ruins, found nothing of the kind.

189. The Nymphs, however, the corresponding emanations of the passive productive power of the universe, had been long known: for whether considered as the daughters of the Ocean or of Jupiter,⁷³⁶ their parent had long been enrolled among the personages of the vulgar mythology. Upon monuments of ancient art, they are usually represented with the Fauns and Satyrs, frequently in attitudes very licentious and indecent: but in the Homeric times, they seem to have been considered as guardian spirits or local deities of the springs, the vallies, and the mountains;⁷³⁷ the companions of the river gods, who were the male progeny of the Ocean;⁷³⁸ though the mystic system, as before observed, allowed them a more exalted genealogy.

190. Pan is sometimes represented ready to execute his characteristic office, and sometimes exhibiting the result of it; in the former of which, all the muscles of his face and body appear strained and contracted; and in the latter, fallen and dilated; while in both the phallus is of disproportionate magnitude, to signify that it represented the predominant attribute.⁷³⁹ In one instance, he appears pouring water upon it;⁷⁴⁰ but more commonly standing near water, and accompanied by aquatic fowls; in which character he is confounded with Priapus, to whom geese were particularly

⁷³⁰ Lucian. de Saltat. c. xvii.

⁷³¹ Sophocl. in Ajac. 694.

⁷³² Athen. Deipnos. lib. xiv. c. xxvi. ed. Schweig.

⁷³³ Διὸς μοι ἐν γέγονε ἡνὶ ὀπίσθῳ ἐπιβόητο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῦτων τὰ συνήματα, ἡ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεθόνητο χρόνον, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεολογίαις αὐτῶν τὰν γενέσθαι. Herodot. lib. ii. s. 146.

⁷³⁴ Γραφονται τε δὴ καὶ γλυφόμενοι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἐγκαταστάται τοῦ Πανὸς τῷ γάλακτι, καταπρὶ Ἑλλήνας, αἰσχρολογῶντες καὶ τραγοσκελῆς· οὗτοι τοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἀλλοῖσι θεοῖσι· ὅτιν δὲ εἴνεκα τοῦτον γραφονται αὐτῶν, οὐ καὶ ἴδιον ἐστὶ λεγέμεν. Herodot. ii. 46.

⁷³⁵ See print from Mr. Bruce's drawing, in Dr. Burney's History of Music.

⁷³⁶ — Genitor Nympharum Oceanus. Catull. Carm. 88. in Gellium. See also Callimach. Hymn. ad Dian. v. 13., and Æschyl. Prometh. in Vincul.

⁷³⁷ Νύμφαι ἀρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς ἀγχιόχοιο. Il. Z. 420.

Νύμφῃν, αἱ εἶχον' ὄρεων ἀπείνην κρήνην,

Καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν, καὶ πείσεια ποιεῖντα. Odys. Z. 123.

⁷³⁸ Οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μὲγα σθένης Ωκεανόιο,

Εἰς αὐτὴν πάντες ποταμοὶ, καὶ πᾶσι θάλασσα,

Καὶ πᾶσι κρήναι, καὶ φρεῖται μακρὰ νῆυσιν. Il. φ. 195.

⁷³⁹ The figures are frequent in collections of small bronzes.

⁷⁴⁰ Bronzi d'Ercolano, tav. xciii.

sacred.⁷⁴¹ Swans, too, frequently occur as emblems of the waters upon coins; and sometimes with the head of Apollo on the reverse;⁷⁴² when there may be some allusion to the ancient notion of their singing; a notion which seems to have arisen from the noises which they make in the high latitudes of the North, prior to their departure at the approach of winter.⁷⁴³ The pedum, or pastoral hook, the symbol of attraction, and the pipe, the symbol of harmony, are frequently placed near him, to signify the means and effect of his operation.

191. Though the Greek writers call the deity who was represented by the sacred goat at Mendes, Pan, he more exactly answers to Priapus, or the generative attribute considered abstractedly;⁷⁴⁴ which was usually represented in Ægypt, as well as in Greece, by the phallus only.⁷⁴⁵ This deity was honored with a place in most of their temples,⁷⁴⁶ as the lingam is in those of the Hindoos; and all the hereditary priests were initiated or consecrated to him, before they assumed the sacerdotal office;⁷⁴⁷ for he was considered as a sort of accessory attribute to all the other divine personifications, the great end and purpose of whose existence was generation or production. A part of the worship offered both to the goat Mendes, and the bull Apis, consisted in the women tendering their persons to him.⁷⁴⁸ An attempt seems to have been made, in early times, to introduce similar acts of devotion in Italy; for when the oracle of Juno was consulted upon the long-continued barrenness of the Roman matrons, its answer was, "Iliadas matres caper hirtus inito:" but these mystic refinements not being understood by that rude people, they could think of no other way of fulfilling the mandate, than sacrificing a goat, and applying the skin, cut into thongs, to the backs of the women.

————— Jussu sua terga marite
Pellibus exsectis percutienda dabant;

which, however, had the desired effect:

Virque pater subito, nuptique mater erat.⁷⁴⁹

At Mendes female goats were also held sacred, as symbols of the passive generative attribute;⁷⁵⁰ and on Grecian monuments of art, we often find caprine satyrs of that sex. The fable of Jupiter having been suckled by a goat, probably arose from some emblematical composition; the true explanation of which was only known to the initiated. Such was the Juno Sospita of Lanuvium, near Rome, whose goat-skin dress signified the same as her title; and who, on a votive ear of very ancient Etruscan work found near Perugia, appears exactly in the form described by Cicero, as the associate of Hercules dressed in the lion's skin, or the Destroyer.⁷⁵¹

192. The Greeks frequently combined the symbolical animals, especially in engravings upon gems; where we often find the forms of the ram, goat, horse, cock, and various others, blended into one, so as to form Pantheic compositions, signifying the various attributes and modes of action of the Deity.⁷⁵² Cupid is sometimes represented wielding the mask of Pan, and sometimes playing upon a lyre, while sitting upon the back of a lion;⁷⁵³ devices of which the ænigmatical meaning has been already sufficiently explained in the explanations of the component parts. The Hindoos, and other nations of the eastern parts of Asia, expressed similar combinations of attributes by symbols loosely connected, and figures unskillfully composed of many heads, legs, arms, &c.; which appear from the epithets *hundred-headed*, *hundred-handed*, &c., so frequent in the old Greek poets, to have been not wholly unknown to them; though the objects to which they are applied prove that their ideas were taken from figures which they did not understand, and which they therefore exaggerated into fabulous

⁷⁴¹ Petronii Satyric. cxxxvi-vii.

⁷⁴² See coins of Clazomenæ in Pellerin, and Mus. Hunter.

⁷⁴³ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 249. Ol. Magn. lib. ix. c. xv.

⁷⁴⁴ Του δε τραγου απεικονισαν (Αγριωτικοι) καθωστερ και παρα τοις Έλλησι τετιμενησθαι λεγονται τον Πριαπον, δια του γεννητικο μοριον. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. s. 88.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid. lib. iv. s. 6.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Τουσ τε ιερεσ τοουσ παραλαβοντας πατρικας ιερωσυνας κατ' Αγριωπον, τουτη τη θηη πρωτον μυιασθαι. Ibid. lib. i. s. 88.

⁷⁴⁸ Μυιασθη παρα κρημνον θαλασπας, ισχιατον

Νυδου κερας, αγκυζεται υβι τραγοι γυναικι μυιασθαι. Pindar. apud Strabon. xvii. p. 802.

Γυναικι τραγοσ ιμισγητο αναφανδον' τουτο ις επιδειξιν ανθρωπων αντικετο. Herodot. lib. ii. s. 46.

Εν δε ταις προηρημεναις τεττερακονθ' ημεραις μονον ηρωσιν αυτον (τον Απιν) αι γυναικις, κατα προσωπον ισταμεναι, και διεκνονουσι αναστραμμεναι τα ιαυτων γεννητικα μορια' τον δ' αλλον χρονον اپαται εκκυλινμενον ιστιν ις οψιν αυτασ ερχεσθαι τουτη τη θηη. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. s. 85.

⁷⁴⁹ Ovid. Fast. ii. 448.

⁷⁵⁰ Αγκη δε και τραγον Μενθησιοι (γυναικιν) Strabon. lib. xvii. p. 812.

Σεβονται δε παντασ τοουσ αιγασ οι Μενθησιοι, και μαλλον τοουσ ερωσιν των θηλων. Herodot. lib. ii. s. 46.

⁷⁵¹ Cum pelle caprina, cum hastâ, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis. De N. D. lib. i. s. xxix.

⁷⁵² They are common, and to be found in all collections of gems; but never upon coins.

⁷⁵³ See Mus. Florent. gemm.

monsters, the enemies or arbitrators of their own gods.⁷⁵⁴ Such symbolical figures may, perhaps, have been worshipped in the western parts of Asia, when the Greeks first settled there; of which the Diana of Ephesus appears to have been a remain: for both her temple and that of the Apollo Didymæus were long anterior to the Ionic emigration;⁷⁵⁵ though the composite images of the latter, which now exist, are, as before observed, among the most refined productions of Grecian taste and elegance. A Pantheic bust of this kind is engraved in plates lv. and lvi. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens, having the dewlaps of a goat, the ears of a bull, and the claws of a crab placed as horns upon his head. The hair appears wet; and out of the temples spring fish, while the whole of the face and breast is covered with foliage that seems to grow from the flesh; signifying the result of this combination of attributes in fertilising and organising matter. The Bacchus ΔΕΝΔΡΙΘΗΣ, and Neptune ΦΥΤΑΑΜΙΟΣ,⁷⁵⁶ the one the principle of vegetation in trees, and the other in plants, were probably represented by composite symbolical images of this kind.

193. A female Pantheic figure in silver, with the borders of the drapery plated with gold, and the whole finished in a manner surpassing almost any thing extant, was among the things found at Macon on the Saone, in the year 1764, and published by Count Caylus.⁷⁵⁷ It represents Cybelè, the universal mother, with the mural crown on her head, and the wings of pervasion growing from her shoulders, mixing the productive elements of heat and moisture, by making a libation upon the flames of an altar from a golden patera, with the usual knob in the centre of it, representing, probably, the lingam. On each side of her head is one of the Dioscuri, signifying the alternate influence of the diurnal and nocturnal sun; and, upon a crescent supported by the tips of her wings, are the seven planets, each signified by a bust of its presiding deity resting upon a globe, and placed in the order of the days of the week named after them. In her left hand she holds two cornucopiæ, to signify the result of her operation on the two hemispheres of the Earth; and upon them are the busts of Apollo and Diana, the presiding deities of those hemispheres, with a golden disk, intersected by two transverse lines, such as is observable on other pieces of ancient art, and such as the barbarians of the North employed to represent the solar year, divided into four parts,⁷⁵⁸ at the back of each.

194. How the days of the week came to be called by the names of the planets, or why the planets were thus placed in an order so different from that of nature, and even from that in which any theorist ever has placed them, is difficult to conjecture. The earliest notice of it in any ancient writing now extant, is in the work of an historian of the beginning of the third century of Christianity;⁷⁵⁹ who says that it was unknown to the Greeks, and borrowed by the Romans from other nations, who divided the planets on this occasion by a sort of musical scale, beginning with Saturn, the most remote from the centre, and then passing over two to the Sun, and two more to the Moon, and so on, till the arrangement of the week was complete as at present, only beginning with the day which now stands last. Other explanations are given, both by the same and by later writers; but as they appear to us to be still more remote from probability, it will be sufficient to refer to them, without entering into further details.⁷⁶⁰ Perhaps the difficulty has arisen from a confusion between the deities and the planets; the ancient nations of the North having consecrated each day of the week to some principal personage of their mythology, and called it after his name, beginning with Lok or Saturn, and ending with Freia or Venus: whence, when these, or the corresponding names in other languages, were applied both to the planets and to the days of the week consecrated to them, the ancient mythological order of the titles was retained, though the ideas expressed by them were no longer religious, but astronomical. Perhaps, too, it may be accounted for from the Ptolemaic system; according to which the order of the planets was, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon: for if the natural day consisted of twenty-four hours, and each hour was under the influence of a planet in succession, and the first hour of Saturday be sacred to Saturn, the eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-second, will be so likewise; so that the twenty-third will belong to Jupiter, the twenty-fourth to Mars, and

⁷⁵⁴ Il. A. 402. Pindar. Pyth. i. 31., viii. 90.

From the publication of Denon of the sculptures remaining in Upper Ægypt, it seems that such figures had a place in the ancient religious mythology of that country.

⁷⁵⁵ Το δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐστὶν ἀρχαιώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωννὴν ἐποικίαν· πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς βύτηρα ἐστὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἰωννὰς τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτίμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν. Pausan. Achaic. c. ii. s. 4.

⁷⁵⁶ Ἀρμόριαι γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἕρας καὶ γόνιμου κυριαὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀρχὴς εἶναι· καὶ Πασιδωνί γε Φυτάλημι Διονυσίῳ δὲ Δενδρίθῃ, πάντες, ὡς ἔπος ἱερίων, Ἑλλήνες θύουσιν. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. v. qu. 111.

⁷⁵⁷ T. vii. pl. lxxi.

He says that the figure had been gilt all over: but he is mistaken; no part of it having been gilt, but several plated, all which remain entire, with the gold upon them. It is now, with most of the other small figures in silver, found with it, in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁷⁵⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. vol. i. p. 90., and vol. ii. p. 212. fig. 4., and p. 161 and 2.

⁷⁵⁹ The part of Plutarch's Symposiaca, in which it was discussed, is unfortunately lost.

⁷⁶⁰ Cass. Dion. lib. xxxvii. p. 37. Hyde de Religi. vet. Persar. c. v. ad fin.

the first hour of the next day to the Sun. In the same manner, the first hour of the ensuing day will belong to the Moon, and so on through the week, according to the seemingly capricious order in which all nations, using the hebdomadal computation of time, have placed them.

195. The Disa or Isa of the North was represented by a conic figure enveloped in a net, similar to the cortina of Apollo on the medals of Cos, Chersonesus in Crete, Naples in Italy, and the Syrian kings; but instead of having the serpent coiled round it, as in the first, or some symbol or figure of Apollo placed upon it, as in the rest, it is terminated in a human head.⁷⁶¹ This goddess is unquestionably the Isis whom the ancient Suevi, according to Tacitus, worshipped;⁷⁶² for the initial letter of the first name appears to be an article or prefix joined to it; and the Ægyptian Isis was occasionally represented enveloped in a net, exactly as the Scandinavian goddess was at Upsal.⁷⁶³ This goddess is delineated on the sacred drums of the Laplanders, accompanied by a child, similar to the Horus of the Ægyptians, who so often appears in the lap of Isis on the religious monuments of that people.⁷⁶⁴ The ancient Muscovites also worshipped a sacred group, composed of an old woman with one male child in her lap and another standing by her, which probably represented Isis and her offspring. They had likewise another idol, called the golden heifer, which seems to have been the animal symbol of the same personage.⁷⁶⁵

196. Common observation would teach the inhabitants of polar climates that the primitive state of water was ice; the name of which, in all the northern dialects, has so near an affinity with that of the goddess, that there can be no doubt of their having been originally the same, though it is equally a title of the corresponding personification in the East Indies. The conic form also unquestionably means the egg; there being in the Albani collection a statue of Apollo sitting upon a great number of eggs, with a serpent coiled round them, exactly as he is upon the veiled cone or cortina, round which the serpent is occasionally coiled, upon the coins above cited. A conic pile of eggs is also placed by the statue of him, draped, as he appears on a silver tetradrachm of Lampsacus,⁷⁶⁶ engraved in pl. lxii. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens.

197. Stones of a similar conic form are represented upon the colonial medals of Tyre, and called ambrosial stones; from which, probably, came the ambers, so frequent all over the northern hemisphere. These, from the remains still extant, appear to have been composed of one of these cones let into the ground, with another stone placed upon the point of it, and so nicely balanced, that the wind could move it, though so ponderous that no human force, unaided by machinery, can displace it: whence they are now called *logging rocks*, and *pendre stones*,⁷⁶⁷ as they were anciently *living stones*, and *stones of God*;⁷⁶⁸ titles, which differ but little in meaning from that on the Tyrian coins. Damascius saw several of them in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis or Baalbeck, in Syria; particularly one which was then moved by the wind;⁷⁶⁹ and they are equally found in the western extremities of Europe, and the eastern extremities of Asia, in Britain and in China.⁷⁷⁰ Probably the stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed with oil, according to a mode of worship once generally practised,⁷⁷¹ as it still is by the Hindoos, was of this kind.⁷⁷² Such immense masses being moved by causes seeming so inadequate, must naturally have conveyed the idea of spontaneous motion to ignorant observers, and persuaded them that they were animated by an emanation of the vital Spirit: whence they were consulted as oracles, the responses of which could always be easily obtained by interpreting the different oscillatory movements into nods of approbation and dissent. The figures of the Apollo Didymæus, on the Syrian coins above-mentioned, are placed sitting upon the point of the cone, where the more rude and primitive symbol of the logging rock is found poised; and we are told, in a passage before cited, that the oracle of this god near Miletus existed before the emigration of the Ionian colonies; that is, more than eleven hundred years before the Christian æra: wherefore we are persuaded that it was originally nothing more than one of these *βαρυλῖα* or symbolical groups; which the luxury of wealth and refinement of art gradually changed into a most magnificent temple and most elegant statue.

198. There were anciently other sacred piles of stones, equally or perhaps more frequent all over

⁷⁶¹ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. vol. ii. c. v. p. 219.

⁷⁶² De M. G. c. ix.

⁷⁶³ Isiac Table, and Ol. Rudbeck. ib. p. 209 and 210.

⁷⁶⁴ Ib. p. 280.

⁷⁶⁵ Ib. c. vi. p. 512 and 513.

⁷⁶⁶ In the cabinet of Mr. Payne Knight.

⁷⁶⁷ Norden's Cornwall, p. 79.

⁷⁶⁸ *Λίθοι ὑψηλοὶ καὶ βαρυλῖα*. Pseudo-Sanchon. Fragm. apud Euseb. The last title seems to be a corruption of the scriptural name Bethel.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ἐξέον τον βαρυλῖον δια τον αἶρος κινουµενον*. In Vitâ Isidori apud Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 242. p. 1061.

⁷⁷⁰ Norden. ib. Kircheri China illustrata. p. 270.

⁷⁷¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 713. Arnob. lib. i. Herodian. in Macrino.

⁷⁷² Cleric. Comm. in Genes. c. xxviii. v. 22.

the North, called by the Greeks ΛΟΦΟΙ 'EPMAIOI or *hillocks of Mercury*; ⁷⁷³ of whom they were probably the original symbols. They were placed by the sides, or in the points of intersection, of roads; where every traveller that passed, threw a stone upon them in honor of Mercury, the guardian of all ways or general conductor; ⁷⁷⁴ and there can be no doubt that many of the ancient crosses observable in such situations were erected upon them; their pyramidal form affording a commodious base, and the substituting a new object being the most obvious and usual remedy for such kinds of superstition. The figures of this god sitting upon fragments of rock or piles of stone, one of which has been already cited, are probably more elegant and refined modes of signifying the same ideas.

199. The old Pelasgian Mercury of the Athenians consisted, as before observed, of a human head placed upon an inverted obelisk with a phallus; of which several are extant; as also of a female draped figure terminating below in the same square form. These seem to be of the Venus Architis, or primitive Venus; of whom there was a statue in wood at Delos, supposed to be the work of Dædalus; ⁷⁷⁵ and another in a temple upon Mount Libanus, of which Macrobius's description exactly corresponds with the figures now extant; of which one is given in plate lviii. of vol. i. of the Select Specimens. "Her appearance," he says, "was melancholy, her head covered, and her face sustained by her left hand, which was concealed under her garment." ⁷⁷⁶ Some of these figures have the mystic title ΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ upon them, signifying perhaps the welcome or gratulation to the returning spring: for they evidently represent nature in winter, still sustained by the inverted obelisk, the emanation of the sun pointed downwards; but having all her powers enveloped in gloom and sadness. Some of these figures were probably, like the Paphian Venus, androgynous; whence arose the Hermaphrodite; afterwards represented under more elegant forms, accounted for as usual by poetical fables. Occasionally the attribute seems to be signified by the cap and wings of Mercury.

200. The symbol of the ram was, it seems, explained in the Eleusinian mysteries; ⁷⁷⁷ and the nature and history of the Pelasgian Mercury in those of Samothrace; ⁷⁷⁸ the device on whose coins, is his emblem either of the ram or the cock; ⁷⁷⁹ and where he was distinguished by the mystic title Casmilus or Cadmilus; ⁷⁸⁰ of which, probably, the Latin word Camillus, and the Greek name of the fabulous hero Cadmus are equally abbreviations: ⁷⁸¹ for the stories of this hero being married to Harmony, the daughter of Mars and Venus; and of both him and his wife being turned into serpents, are clearly allegorical; and it is more probable that the colony which occupied Thebes, were called Cadmeians from the title of their deity than from the name of their chief.

201. The Ægyptian Mercury carried a branch of palm in his hand, which his priests also wore in their sandals; ⁷⁸² probably as a badge of their consecration to immortality: for this tree is mentioned in the Orphic poems as proverbial for longevity; and was the only one known to the ancients, which never changed its leaves; all other evergreens shedding them, though not regularly nor all at once. ⁷⁸³ It has also the property of flourishing in the most parched and dry situations, where no other large trees will grow; and therefore might naturally have been adopted as a vegetable symbol of the sun; whence it frequently accompanies the horse on the coins of Carthage; ⁷⁸⁴ and in the Corinthian Sacristy in the temple at Delphi was a bronze palm-tree with frogs and water-snakes round its root, signifying the sun fed by humidity. ⁷⁸⁵ The pillars in many ancient Ægyptian temples represent palm-trees with their branches lopped off; and it is probable that the palm-trees in the temple of Solomon were pillars of the same form; ⁷⁸⁶ that prince having admitted many prophane symbols among the

⁷⁷³ ——— ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι Ἑρμῆος λόφος ἔστιν. Odyss. Π. 471. This line, however, together with those adjoining 468-75, though ancient, is proved to be an interpolation of much later date than the rest of the poem, by the word Ἑρμῆος formed from the contracted Ἑρμῆς for Ἑρμῆας, unknown to the Homeric tongue.

⁷⁷⁴ Anthol. lib. iv. Epigr. 12. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor.

⁷⁷⁵ Καὶ Δηλῶς Ἀφροδίτης ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ Ἰσάνων (τεχὴν Δαίδαλου) κατεῖσι δὲ ἀντὶ ποδῶν ἐς τετραγῶνων σχῆμα. Paus. in Bæot. c. xl. s. 2.

⁷⁷⁶ Capite obnupto, specie tristi, faciem manu levâ intra amictum sustinens. Sat. i. c. xxi.

⁷⁷⁷ Pausan. in Corinth.

⁷⁷⁸ Mus. Hunter. tab. xlv. fig. 21. et nummul. argent. ined. apud R. P. Knight, Londini.

⁷⁷⁹ Μυσονται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρακίᾳ τοὺς Καβίρους, ὧν Μυασίας φησι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τισσάρης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἀεῖρος, Ἀεῖοκρῆσα, Ἀεῖοκρῆσος. Ἀεῖρος μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ Διμήτηρ· Ἀεῖοκρῆσα δὲ ἡ Περσέφονη· Ἀεῖοκρῆσος δὲ ὁ Ἄδης. ὁ δὲ προστεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Καβίρου ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἔστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσιοδώρος. Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. i. v. 917.

⁷⁸⁰ Οἱ δὲ προστεθῆσαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Καβίρου, ἐστὶ δ' οὗτος ὁ Ἑρμῆς. Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ Lycophron. v. 162. Καβίριος ὁ Ἑρμῆς Βουσιόκεος. Schol. in eund. et κατὰ συγκρίσιν Καβίρου. Ib. in v. 219.

⁷⁸² Apuleiæ Metam. lib. ii. p. 33. et lib. xi. p. 241 et 246.

⁷⁸³ Ὅ δὲ φαίνεται οὐθεν ἀποβαλλῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν φενομένων, βιβλαῖος αἰφύλλος ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τῆς νεκρῆς τῆς ἐσχυρῆς συνοικεῖται. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii. probl. 4.

⁷⁸⁴ See Gesner. tab. lxxv. fig. 40 and 42.

⁷⁸⁵ Τὴν ἐξ ὕδατος φρεσὶν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ γένεταί καὶ ἀναθημασὶν ὁ δημιουργός. Plutarch. de metro non utente Pyth. dialog. p. 400.

⁷⁸⁶ See Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 217.

ornaments of his sacred edifice. The palm-tree at Delos, sacred to Apollo and Diana, is mentioned in the *Odyssey*;⁷⁸⁷ and it seems probable that the games and other exercises performed in honor of those deities, in which the palm, the laurel, and other symbolical plants were the distinctions of victory, were originally mystic representations of the attributes and modes of action of the divine nature. Such the dances unquestionably were: for when performed in honor of the gods, they consisted chiefly of imitative exhibitions of the symbolical figures under which they were represented by the artists.⁷⁸⁸ Simple mimicry seems also to have formed a part of the very ancient games celebrated by the Ionians at Delos;⁷⁸⁹ from which, probably, came dramatic poetry; the old comedy principally consisting of imitations, not only of individual men, but of the animals employed as symbols of the Deity.⁷⁹⁰ Of this kind are the comedies of the birds, the frogs, the wasps, &c.; the choral parts of which were recited by persons who were disguised in imitation of those different animals, and who mimicked their notes while chanting or singing the parts.⁷⁹¹ From a passage of Æschylus, preserved by Strabo, it appears that similar imitations were practised in the mystic ceremonies,⁷⁹² which may have been a reason for their gradual disuse upon all common occasions.

202. The symbolical meaning of the olive, the fir, and the apples, the honorary rewards in the Olympic, Isthmian, and Pythian games, has been already noticed; and the parsley, which formed the crown of the Roman victors, was equally a mystic plant; it being represented on coins in the same manner as the fig-leaf, and with the same signification,⁷⁹³ probably on account of a peculiar influence, which it is still supposed to have upon the female constitution. This connexion of the games with the mystic worship was probably one cause of the momentous importance attached to success in them; which is frequently spoken of by persons of the highest rank, as the most splendid object of human ambition;⁷⁹⁴ and we accordingly find the proud city of Syracuse bribing a citizen of Caulonia to renounce his own country and proclaim himself of theirs, that they might have the glory of a prize which he had obtained.⁷⁹⁵ When Exænetus of Agrigentum won the race in the ninety-first Olympiad, he was escorted into his native city by three hundred chariots;⁷⁹⁶ and Theagenes the Thasian, the Achilles of his age, who long possessed unrivalled superiority in all exercises of bodily strength and agility, so as to have been crowned fourteen hundred times, was canonised as a hero or demigod, had statues erected to him in various parts of Greece, and received divine worship; which he further proved himself worthy of, by miraculous favors obtained at his altars. Euthymus too, who was equally eminent as a boxer, having won a great number of prizes, and contended once even against Theagenes with doubtful success, was rewarded with equal or even greater honors: for he was deified by command of the oracle even before his death;⁷⁹⁷ being thus elevated to a rank, which fear has often prostituted to power; but which unawed respect gave to merit in this instance only: and it is peculiarly degrading to popular favor and flattery that in this instance it should have been given not to the labors of a statesman or the wisdom of a legislator, but to the dexterity of a boxer.

203. This custom of canonising or deifying men seems to have arisen from that general source of ancient rites and opinions, the system of emanations; according to which all were supposed to partake of the divine essence, but not in an equal degree: whence, while a few simple rites, faintly expressive of religious veneration, were performed in honor of all the dead,⁷⁹⁸ a direct and explicit worship was paid to the shades of certain individuals renowned for either great virtues or great vices, which, if equally energetic, equally dazzle and overawe the gaping multitude.⁷⁹⁹ Every thing being

⁷⁸⁷ Z, 162.

⁷⁸⁸ Ἡ γὰρ ὀρχησις ἐκ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ σχηματικῆς συνίστηται ———— φόρος μὲν οὖν τὰς κινήσεως οὐνοῦσιν, σχήματα δὲ σχήσεως καὶ ἐσθίσεως, ἐκ ἧς φερόμεναι τελευτῶσιν αἱ κινήσεις, ὅταν Ἀπολλωνος, ἡ Πανός, ἡ τίνος Βακχίης, σχήμα διαδένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος γραφικός τοις ὕδασι ἐπιμενωσιν. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. ix. probl. 15.

⁷⁸⁹ Παντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρημβυλιαστὴν
Μυμίσσθαι ἴσασιν· φασι δὲ κιν' αὐτοὺς ἑκαστος
Φθγγεῖσθαι. Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. 162.

⁷⁹⁰ See Aristoph. 'Iwv. 520, &c.

⁷⁹¹ Ejuod. Βατραχ. 209.

⁷⁹² ψαλμος δ' ἀλαλαΐα·
ταυροβογγαὶ δ' ὑπομικνύνται ποθιν
ἐξ ἀφανὸς φάβηται μμοί·
τυμπανὸν δ' ἤχου,
ὡσθ' ὑπομνοῖν βροντῆς, φέρεται βαρυταρβῆς. Æschyl. Edon. apud Strab. lib. x. p. 471.

⁷⁹³ Σελίνου. το γυναικίον. Hesych.

⁷⁹⁴ Pausan. in Eliac. post. c. iii.

⁷⁹⁵ Plin. lib. vii. c. xlvii.

⁷⁹⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. xiii. c. lxxxii.

⁷⁹⁷ Odyss. A. Lucian. περὶ πινθ'. s. 9.

⁷⁹⁸ Οὐλκῆς, Πυθελγῆρος, Πλάτων, αἱ Στωικαὶ Δαίμονας ὑπαρχὴν οὐσίας ψυχῶς· ἵνα δὲ καὶ Ἡρώας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν σωματικῶν, καὶ ἀγαθὸς μὲν, τὰς ἀγαθὰς· κακὸς δὲ, τὰς φαύλας. Plutarch. de Placit. Philos. lib. i. c. viii.

——— αἱ γὰρ Ἡρώας κακῶν,
Ὡς φασ', ἱστοίαι μάλ' ὅσον, ἡ εὐρηγμένην. Menandr. ex Æqual. Fragm.

derived, according to this system, from the deity, the commanding talents and splendid qualities of particular persons were naturally supposed to proceed from particular emanations; whence such persons were, even while living, honored with divine titles expressive of those particular attributes of the deity, with which they seemed to be peculiarly favored.⁸⁰⁰ Such titles were, however, in many instances given soon after birth; children being named after the divine personifications, as a sort of consecration to their protection. The founder of the Persian monarchy was called by a name, which in their language signified the sun;⁸⁰¹ and there is no doubt that many of the ancient kings of Ægypt had names of the same kind;⁸⁰² which have helped to confound history with allegory; though the Ægyptians, prior to their subjection to the Macedonians, never worshipped them, nor any heroes or canonised mortals whatsoever.⁸⁰³

204. "During the Pagan state of the Irish," says a learned antiquary of that country, "every child at his birth received a name generally from some imaginary divinity; under whose protection it was supposed to be: but this name was seldom retained longer than the state of infancy; from which period it was generally changed for others arising from some perfection or imperfection of the body; the disposition or quality of the mind; achievements in war or the chase; the place of birth, residence, &c."⁸⁰⁴ When these descriptive titles exactly accorded with those previously imposed, and derived from the personified attributes of the deity, both were naturally confounded; and the limited excellences of man thus occasionally placed in the same rank with the boundless perfections of God. The same custom still prevails among the Hindoos, who when a child is ten days old give him the name of one of their deities; to whose favor they think by this mean to recommend him;⁸⁰⁵ whence the same medley of historical tradition and physical allegory fills up their popular creed, as filled that of the Greeks and other nations. The ancient theism of the North seems also to have been corrupted by the conqueror Odin assuming the title of the supreme God, and giving those of other subordinate attributes to his children and captains;⁸⁰⁶ which are, however, all occasionally applied to him.⁸⁰⁷ for the Scandinavians, like the Greeks, seem sometimes to have joined, and sometimes to have separated the personifications; so that they sometimes worshipped several gods, and sometimes only one god with several names.

205. Historical tradition has transmitted to us accounts of several ancient kings, who bore the Greek name of Jupiter;⁸⁰⁸ which signifying *Awe* or *Terror*, would naturally be assumed by tyrants, who wished to inspire such sentiments. The ancient Bacchus was said to have been the son of Jupiter by Ceres or Proserpine;⁸⁰⁹ that is, in plain language, the result of the æthereal Spirit operating

⁸⁰⁰ ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θῶν γενεᾷ* ἐκ
μῆας δι πνεύμεν
μᾶτρος ἀμφοτέρωι.
διῆργει δὲ πᾶσα κερμῆνα
δυνάμει. Pindar. Nem. 6. v. i.

⁸⁰¹ Καὶ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (Κυροῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. Ctes. Persic.

Κυρον γὰρ καλεῖν Περσας τὸν ἡλίον. Plutarch. in Artax.

Τὸν γὰρ ἡλίον οἱ Πέρσαι Κυρον λεγούσι. Hesych.

⁸⁰² See Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt.

⁸⁰³ Νομίζουσι δ' ὡν Ἀργυντίου οὐδ' ἄρῳσι οὐδέν. Herodot. lib. ii. s. 50. See also s. 142 and 3.

⁸⁰⁴ Collectan. Hibern. No. xi. p. 230.

⁸⁰⁵ Sonnerat Voyage aux Indes. t. i. p. 84.

⁸⁰⁶ Mallet Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemarck.

⁸⁰⁷ Odinus ego nunc nominor;
Yggus modo nominabar;
Vocabar Thundus ante id,
Fucus et Skiflingus,
Yafodus et Hoopla-tyr
Gautus et Ialcus inter Deos,
Ossier et Swafner;
Quos puta factos esse
Omnes ex uno me. Grummismal liii. Edid. Samond. p. 61.

⁸⁰⁸ Παντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμησάμεθα καὶ προβημήντι ἀπορον, ὅσοις θάλοισι γενεῖσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι δια. Pausan. in Messen. c. xxxiii. s. 2.

⁸⁰⁹ Φασὶ τὸν θῶν (τὸν Διόνυσον) ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Δημήτρος τεκνωθῆναι, διασπασθῆναι. Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. p. 138.

Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης εἰβόουσιν· ἄλλον τούτων Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ιαχῶς ὁ μυστικός τούτῃ τῇ Διονυσῷ, οὐχὶ τῇ Θηβῶν, ἐπέδεται. Artian. lib. ii. An Attic writer during the independence of the Republic, would not have dared to say so much.

Μυθολογεῖται δὲ τινες καὶ ἑτέρον Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι, πολὺ τοὺς χρόνους προτερουμένη τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσέφνης Διόνυσον γενεῖσθαι, τὸν ὑπὸ τινὸν Σαρβαζὼν ὀνομαζόμενον· οὗ τὰν τέ γενεῖται καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νεκτέρινας καὶ κρήφας παρισπασσάμενος εἰς τὴν αἰσχρὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνομιλίας ἐπακολουθούσαν. Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. p. 148.

Σαρβῶν γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βακχῶν καλοῦσι, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφ᾽ αὐτῆς τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ὀργαζώσῃ τῇ θεῷ. Plutarch. Symp. lib. iv. p. 671. qu. vi.

upon the Earth, or its pervading Heat: but a real or fictitious hero, having been honored with his name in the Cadmeian colony of Thebes, was by degrees confounded with him in the popular mythology; and fabled to have been raised up by Jupiter to replace him after he had been slain by the Titans;⁸¹⁰ as Attis and Adonis were by the boar, and Osiris by Typhon; symbolical tales which have been already noticed. The mystic deity was however duly distinguished as an object of public worship in the temples: where he was associated by the Greeks with Ceres and Proserpine,⁸¹¹ and by the Romans with Ceres and Libera, (who was their Proserpine,) the reason for which, as the Stoic interlocutor observes in Cicero's Dialogues on the Nature of the Gods, was explained in the Mysteries.⁸¹²

206. The sons of Tyndarus were by the same means confounded with the ancient personifications of the diurnal and nocturnal sun, or of the morning and evening star;⁸¹³ the symbols of whose attributes, the two oval or conic caps, were interpreted to signify their birth from Leda's egg, a fable ingrafted upon the old allegory subsequent to the Homeric times; the four lines alluding to the deification of the brothers of Helen in the *Odyssey* being undoubtedly spurious, though extremely beautiful.⁸¹⁴ Perseus is probably an entirely fictitious and allegorical personage; for there is no mention of him in either of the Homeric poems; and his name is a title of the sun;⁸¹⁵ and his image the composite symbol of the gryphon humanised. Theseus appears likewise to be a personage who started into being between the respective ages of the two Homeric poems: there being no mention of him in the genuine parts of the *Iliad*, though the Athenian genealogy is minutely detailed,⁸¹⁶ and he being only once slightly mentioned as the lover of Ariadne in the genuine parts of the *Odyssey*.⁸¹⁷ He seems, in reality, to be the Athenian personification of Hercules; he having the same symbols of the club and lion's skin; and similar actions and adventures being attributed to him, many of which are manifestly allegorical; such as his conflict with the Minotaur, with the Centaurs, and with the Amazons.

207. This confusion of personages, arising from a confusion of names, was facilitated in its progress by the belief that the universal generative principle, or its subordinate emanations, might act in such a manner as that a female of the human species might be impregnated without the co-operation of a male;⁸¹⁸ and as this notion was extremely useful and convenient in concealing the frailties of women, quieting the jealousies of husbands, protecting the honor of families, and guarding with religious awe the power of bold usurpers, it was naturally cherished and promoted with much favor and industry. Men supposed to be produced in this supernatural way, would of course advance into life with strong confidence and high expectations; which generally realise their own views, when supported by even common courage and ability. Such were the founders of almost all the families distinguished in mythology; whose names being, like all other ancient names, descriptive titles, were equally applicable to the personified attributes of the deity: whence both became blended together; and historical so mixed with allegorical fable, that it is impossible in many instances to distinguish or separate them. The actions of kings and conquerors were attributed to personages purely symbolical; and the qualities of these bestowed in return upon frail and perishable mortals. Even the double or ambiguous sex was attributed to deified heroes; Cecrops being fabled to have been both man and woman;⁸¹⁹ and the rough Hercules and furious Achilles were represented with the features and habits of the softer sex, to conceal the mystic meaning of which the fables of Omphale and Iolë, and the daughters of Lycomedes, were invented; of which there is not a trace in the Homeric poems.

208. When the Greeks made expeditions into distant countries, whether for plunder, trade, or conquest, and there found deified heroes with titles corresponding either in sound or sense to their

⁸¹⁰ Ἡδὲ γὰρ μενέαινε νεον Διόνυσον αἰετίν,
Ταυροφύες μύμημα παλαγγενεὸς Διόνυσου,
Αἰνομοῖον Ζαγῆρος ἔχον πτόθον ὑψιμέδων Ζηνι,
Ὅν τις Πρωτόφρωνι δράκοντιν Διὸς ἐννῆρ. Dionysiac. lib. v. c. 563.

⁸¹¹ Καὶ πλῆθον νῆας ἐστὶ Διμήτρος· ἀγῶματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε καὶ ᾧ πνεῖ, καὶ δρεῖα ἔχον Ιαχῶος. Pausan. in Attic. c. ii. s. 4.
Ἡ πον γ' ἄν ἐτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δημητρίαν, καὶ Κορην, καὶ τοῦ Ιαχῶν τὸν μυστικόν, θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοιεν. Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 18.

⁸¹² Lib. iii. s. 21.

⁸¹³ Καὶ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας δὲ φασὶ τὴν τῶν Διόσκουρων δοξάν ὑπελθεῖν παλιν (ἰερεῖ παλαι) νομίζομεναι εἶναι θεοὺ. Sext. Empir. lib. ix. s. 37.

⁸¹⁴ Od. A. 300-4. Ἀλογχασ' ἴσα betrays the interpolator, the adjective having been written with the digamma.

⁸¹⁵ Περσεὺς ὁ ἥλιος ἐστὶ. Schol. in Lycophr. v. 17.

⁸¹⁶ B. 546-50. Several of these lines seem to have been interpolated in compliment to the Athenians.

⁸¹⁷ A. 321.

⁸¹⁸ Οὐθὲν οἰομαι δύναιτο, κὶ μὴ πλῆσασθαι ὁ θεὸς, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλὰ ἱεραὶ τισὶν ὅφρα δὲ ἱερῶν καὶ ψανέσει τρεῖσι, καὶ ὑποσημῆσαι θυσίας γόνυ τὸ θνήσκον. Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. viii. probl. 1.

⁸¹⁹ Justin. lib. ii. c. vi. Suidas. in Κεκροῖ. Euseb. et Hieron. in Chronic. Plutarch. de serâ namin. vindictâ. Eustath. in Dionys. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. c. xxxiii.

own, they without further inquiry concluded them to be the same; and adopted all the legendary tales which they found with them: whence their own mythology, both religious and historical, was gradually spread out into an unwieldy mass of incoherent fictions and traditions, which no powers of ingenuity or extent of learning could analyse or comprehend. The heroes of the *Iliad* were, at a very early period, so much the objects of public admiration, partly through the greatness of the war, the only one carried on jointly by all the States of Greece prior to the Macedonian usurpation, and partly through the refulgent splendor of the mighty genius by which it had been celebrated; that the proudest princes were ambitious of deducing their genealogies from them, and the most powerful nations were vain of any traces of connexion with them. Many such claims and pretensions were of course fabricated, which were as easily asserted as denied; and as men have a natural partiality for affirmatives, and nearly as strong a predilection for that which exercises their credulity, as for that which gratifies their vanity, we may conclude that the assertors generally prevailed. Their tales were also rendered plausible, in many instances, by the various traditions then circulated concerning the subsequent fortunes and adventures of those heroes; some of whom were said to have been cast away in their return; and others expelled by usurpers, who had taken advantage of their long absence; so that a wandering life supported by piracy and plunder became the fate of many.²⁰⁹ Inferences were likewise drawn from the slenderest traces of verbal analogies, and the general similarity of religious rites; which, as they co-operated in proving what men were predisposed to believe, were admitted without suspicion or critical examination.

209. But what contributed most of all towards peopling the coasts and islands both of the Mediterranean and adjoining ocean, with illustrious fugitives of that memorable period, was the practice of ancient navigators in giving the names of their gods and heroes to the lands which they discovered, in the same manner as the moderns do those of their saints and martyrs: for in those early ages every name thus given became the subject of a fable, because the name continued when those who gave it were forgotten. In modern times every navigator keeps a journal; which, if it contains any new or important information, is printed and made public; so that, when a succeeding navigator finds any traces of European language or manners in a remote country, he knows from whence they came: but, had there been no narratives left by the first modern discoverers, and subsequent adventurers had found the name of St. Francis or St. Anthony with some faint traces of Christianity in any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, they might have concluded, or at least conjectured, that those saints had actually been there: whence the first convent of monks, that arose in a colony, would soon make out a complete history of their arrival and abode there; the hardships which they endured, the miracles which they wrought, and the relics which they left for the edification of the faithful and the emolument of their teachers.

210. As the heroes of the *Iliad* were as familiar to the Greek navigators, as the saints of the Calendar were to the Spanish and Portuguese, and treated by them with the same sort of respect and veneration; there can be little doubt that they left the same sort of memorials of them, wherever they made discoveries or piratical settlements; which memorials, being afterwards found among barbarous nations by succeeding navigators, when the discoverers were forgotten and the settlers vanished; they concluded that those heroes had actually been there: and as the works of the Greek poets, by the general diffusion of the Greek language after the Macedonian conquest, became universally known and admired, those nations themselves eagerly co-operated in the deception, by ingrafting the Greek fables upon their own, and by greedily catching at any links of affinity which might connect them with a people, from whom all that was excellent in art, literature, and society, seemed to be derived.

211. Hence, in almost every country bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea, and even in some upon the Atlantic Ocean, traces were to be found of the navigations and adventures of Ulysses, Menelaus, Æneas, or some other wandering chieftain of that age; by which means such darkness and confusion have been spread over their history, that an ingenious writer, not usually given to doubt, has lately questioned their existence; not recollecting that he might upon the same grounds have questioned the existence of the Apostles, and thus undermined the very fabric which he professed to support: for by quoting, as of equal authority, all the histories which have been written concerning them in various parts of Christendom during seventeen hundred years, he would have produced a medley of inconsistent facts, which, taken collectively, would have startled even his own well-disciplined faith.²²¹ Yet this is what he calls a fair mode of analysing ancient prophane history; and,

²⁰⁹ Strabon. lib. iii. p. 150.

²¹¹ Metrodorus of Lampasacus anciently turned both the Homeric poems into Allegory; and the Christian divines of the third and fourth centuries did the same by the historical books of the New Testament; as their predecessors the eclectic Jews had before done by those of the Old.

Metrodorus and his followers, however, never denied nor even questioned the general fact of the siege of Troy, (as they have

indeed, it is much fairer than that which he has practised: for not content with quoting Homer and Tzetzes, as of equal authority, he has entirely rejected the testimony of Thucydides in his account of the ancient population of Greece; and received in its stead that of Cedrenus, Syncellus, and the other monkish writers of the lower ages, who compiled the Paschal and Nuremberg Chronicles. It is rather hard upon our countrymen Chaucer and Lydgate to be excluded; as the latter would have furnished an account of the good king Priam's founding a chauntry in Troy to sing requiems for the soul of his pious son Hector, with many other curious particulars equally unknown to the antiquaries of Athens and Alexandria, though full as authentic as those which he has collected with so much labor from the Byzantine luminaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²¹²

212. A conclusion directly contrary to that of this ingenious gentleman was drawn by several learned writers of antiquity, from the confusion in which the traditions of early times were involved: instead of turning history into mythology, they turned mythology into history; and inferred that, because some of the objects of public worship had been mortal men, they had all been equally so; for which purpose, they rejected the authority of the mysteries; where the various gradations of gods, dæmons, and heroes, with all the metaphysical distinctions of emanated, personified, and canonised beings, were taught;²¹³ and instead of them, brought out the old allegorical genealogies in a new dress, under pretence of their having been transcribed from authentic historical monuments of extreme antiquity found in some remote country.

213. Euhemerus, a Messenian employed under Cassander king of Macedonia, seems to have been the first who attempted this kind of fraud. Having been sent into the Eastern Ocean with some commission, he pretended to have found engraven upon a column in an ancient temple in the island of Panchæa, a genealogical account of a family, that had once reigned there; in which were comprised the principal deities then worshipped by the Greeks.²¹⁴ The theory, which he formed from this pretended discovery, was soon after attempted to be more fully established by a Phœnician history, said to have been compiled many centuries before by one Sanchoniathon from the records of Thoth and Ammon; but never brought to light until Philo of Byblos published it in Greek with a proem of his own; in which he asserted that the mysteries had been contrived merely to disguise the tales of his pretended Phœnician history,²¹⁵ notwithstanding that a great part of these tales are evidently nothing more than the old mystic allegories copied with little variation from the theogonies of the Greek poets, in which they had before been corrupted and obscured.

214. A fragment of this work having been preserved by Eusebius, many learned persons among the moderns have quoted it with implicit confidence, as a valuable and authentic record of very ancient history; while others have as confidently rejected it, as a bungling fraud imposed upon the public by Philo of Byblos, in order to support a system, or procure money from the founders of the Alexandrian Library; who paid such extravagant prices for old books, or for (what served equally well to furnish their shelves) new books with old titles. Among the ancients there seems to have been but one opinion concerning it: for, except Porphyry, no heathen writer has deigned to mention it; so contemptible a performance, as the fragment extant proves it to have been, seeming to them unworthy of being rescued from oblivion even by an epithet of scorn or sentence of reprobation. The early Christian writers, however, took it under their protection, because it favored that system, which by degrading the old, facilitated the progress of the new religion: but in whatever else these writers may have excelled, they certainly had no claim to excellence in either moral sincerity or critical sagacity; and none less than Eusebius; who, though his authority has lately been preferred to that of Thucydides and Xenophon, was so differently thought of by ecclesiastical writers of the immediately subsequent ages, that he is one of those, by whose example they justified the practice of holy

been mis-stated to have done) any more than Tatian and Origen did the incarnation of their Redeemer, or Aristeas and Philo the passage of the Red Sea.

Tasso in his later days declared the whole of his Jerusalem Delivered to be an allegory; but without, however, questioning the historical truth of the crusades.

²¹² See Bryant on Ancient Mythology.

²¹³ Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν αἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφανεῖς λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ δαιμονίων ἀληθείας, ἡτοῖμα μοι κεισθῆναι, καὶ Ἰεροδότου. Plutarch. de Orac. Defect. p. 417.

²¹⁴ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ii. c. ii.

—Μεγάλαις μὲν τῇ ἀθῆνῃ λῆψις ἀπογραφὰς ἀνοίγοντας, καὶ ἐκπληροῦντες τὰ θεῖα, λαμβάνειν δὲ τοῖς Εὐσημεῖον τοῦ Μισσηνίου φενακισμοῦ παρρησίαν δίδοντας, ὅς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφεὶ συνθεῖς ἀπιστοῦν καὶ ἀναπαρκετοὺς μυθολογίας, πᾶσαν ἀβητοῖα κατασκευάζοντες τῆς οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς πάντας ὁμολῶς διαγραφῶν καὶ οὐνοῦ στρατηγῶν καὶ ναυαρχῶν καὶ βασιλέων, ὡς δὴ παλαιὰ γεγονότων. ἐν δὲ Πευγαίᾳ γρηναίᾳ χρῆσιν ἀναγεγραμμένον, εἰς οὗτο βιβλίον οὐδὲν, οὐτὲ Ἑλλήν, ἀλλὰ μόνος Εὐσημεῖος, ὡς τοῖς, πλείους ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀπογραφῇ γὰρ γεγονότας, μὴ οὐτως Πευγαίᾳ καὶ Τριφυλίᾳ, ἐκτετυγχεῖ. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 359.

²¹⁵ Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν νομιστοὶ τῶν ἱερολογῶν, τὰ μὲν γεγονότα πρᾶγματα εἰς ἀρχὰς ἀπετυμῶντο, ἀλλήγορος καὶ μυθὸς ἐκινῶσαντες, καὶ τοῖς κοινῶς παθήμασι συγγενίαν πλάσσαντες, μὴ οὐτὴν κατεστήσαν' καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν, ὡς μὴ βλάβος τίνα σὺν ὀραν τὰ κατ' ἀληθείαν γεγονότα. Philon. Bybl. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. ix.

lying,⁸⁸⁶ or asserting that which they *knew* to be false in support of that which they *believed* to be true.

215. Among the numberless forgeries of greater moment which this practice poured upon the world, is one in favor of this system, written in the form of a letter from Alexander the Great to his mother, informing her that an Ægyptian priest named Leo had secretly told him that all the gods were deified mortals. Both the style and matter of it are below criticism; it being in every respect one of the most bungling counterfeits ever issued from that great manufactory of falsehoods, which was carried on under the avowed patronage of the leading members of the Church, during the second, third, and fourth centuries.⁸⁸⁷ Jablonski only wasted his erudition in exposing it;⁸⁸⁸ though Warburton, whose multifarious reading never gave him any of the tact or taste of a scholar, has employed all his acuteness and all his virulence in its defence.⁸⁸⁹

216. The facility and rapidity, with which deifications were multiplied under the Macedonian and Roman empires, gave considerable credit to the system of Euhemerus; and brought proportionate disgrace on religion in general. The many worthless tyrants, whom their own preposterous pride or the abject servility of their subjects exalted into gods, would naturally be pleased to hear that the universally recognised objects of public worship had no better title to the homage and devotion of mankind than they themselves had; and when an universal despot could enjoy the honors of a god, at the same time that consciousness of his crimes prevented him from daring to enter a mystic temple, it is natural that he should prefer that system of religion, which decorated him with its highest honors, to that which excluded him from its only solemn rites.⁸⁹⁰

217. This system had also another great advantage: for as all persons acquainted with the mystic doctrines were strictly bound to secrecy, they could not of course engage in any controversy on the subject; otherwise they might have appealed to the testimony of the poets themselves, the great corrupters and disguisers of their religion; who, nevertheless, upon all great and solemn occasions, such as public adjurations and invocations, resort to its first principles, and introduce no fabulous or historical personages: not that they understood the mystic doctrines, or meant to reveal them; but because they followed the ordinary practice of the earliest times; which in matters of such solemn importance was too firmly established to be altered. When Agamemnon calls upon the gods to attest and confirm his treaty with Priam, he gives a complete abstract of the old elementary system, upon which the mystic was founded; naming first the *awful and venerable Father of all*; then the *Sun, who superintends and regulates the Universe, and lastly the subordinate diffusions of the great active Spirit, that pervade the waters, the earth, and the regions under the earth.*⁸⁹¹ The invocation of the Athenian women, who are introduced by Aristophanes celebrating the secret rites of Ceres, and Proserpine, is to the same effect, only adapted to the more complicated and philosophical refinements of the mystic worship. First they call upon *Jupiter, or the supreme all-ruling Spirit*; then upon the *golden-tyred Apollo, or the Sun, the harmoniser and regulator of the world, the centre and instrument of his power*; then upon *Almighty Pallas, or the pure emanation of his wisdom*; then upon *Diana or nature, the many-named daughter of Latona or night*; then upon *Neptune, or the emanation of the pervading Spirit, that animates the waters*; and lastly upon the *Nymphs or subordinate generative ministers of both sea and land.*⁸⁹² Other invocations to the same purport are to be found in many of the choral odes both tragic and comic; though the order, in which the personifications are introduced is often varied, to prevent the mystic allusions from being too easily discernible. The principles of theology appear to have been kept equally pure from the superstructures of mythology in the foras of judicial adjuration; Draco having enacted that all solemn depositions should be under the sanction of Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva;⁸⁹³ whilst in later times Ceres was joined to the two former instead of Minerva.⁸⁹⁴

218. The great Pantheic temples exhibited a similar progression or graduation of personified attributes and emanations in the statues and symbols which decorated them. Many of these existed in various parts of the Macedonian and Roman empires; but none are now so well known as that of Hierapolis, or the *holy city* in Syria, concerning which we have a particular treatise falsely attributed to Lucian. It was called the temple of the Syrian goddess Astartè; who was precisely the same as the Cybelè, or universal mother, of the Phrygians; whose attributes have been already explained, and may be found more regularly detailed in a speech of Mopsus in the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius.⁸⁹⁵ "She was," as Apian observes, "by some called Juno, by others Venus, and by

⁸⁸⁶ Pro Frobo adv. Jovinian.

⁸⁸⁷ Hieronym. ibid. Chrysostom. de Sacerdot.

⁸⁸⁸ Prolegom. s. 16. It is alluded to in the Apology of Athenagoras, and therefore of the second century.

⁸⁸⁹ Div. Leg. vol. i. p. 213.

⁸⁹⁰ See Sueton. in Ner.

⁸⁹¹ Il. Γ. 276, &c.

⁸⁹² Θεοφ. 315, &c.

⁸⁹³ Schol. Ven. in Il. O. 36.

⁸⁹⁴ Demosthen. ἐν Τυοσπαρ. apud eund.

⁸⁹⁵ Lib. i. 1068.

others held to be Nature, or the cause which produced the beginnings and seeds of things from Humidity;⁸³⁵ so that she comprehended in one personification both these goddesses; who were accordingly sometimes blended in one symbolical figure by the very ancient Greek artists.⁸³⁷

219. Her statue at Hierapolis was variously composed; so as to signify many attributes like those of the Ephesian Diana, Berecynthian Mother, and others of the kind.⁸³⁸ It was placed in the interior part of the temple, accessible only to priests of the higher order; and near it was the statue of the corresponding male personification, called by the Greek writers Jupiter; which was borne by bulls, as that of the goddess was by lions,⁸³⁹ to signify that the active power or ætherial spirit is sustained by its own strength alone; while the passive or terrestrial requires the aid of previous destruction. The minotaur or sphinx, before explained, are only more compendious ways of representing these composite symbols.

220. Between them was a third figure with a golden dove on its head, which the Syrians did not choose to explain, or call by any name; but which some supposed to be Bacchus, others Deucalion, and others Semiramis.⁸⁴⁰ It must, therefore, have been an androgynous figure; and most probably signified the first-begotten Love, or plastic emanation, which proceeded from both and was consubstantial with both; whence he was called by the Persians, who seem to have adopted him from the Syrians, Mithras, signifying the Mediator.⁸⁴¹ The doubt expressed concerning the sex, proves that the body of the figure was covered, as well as the features effeminate; and it is peculiarly remarkable that such a figure as this with a golden dove on its head should have been taken for Deucalion; of whom corresponding ideas must of course have been entertained: whence we are led to suspect that the fabulous histories of this personage are not derived from any vague traditions of the universal deluge; but from some symbolical composition of the plastic spirit upon the waters, which was signified in so many various ways in the emblematical language of ancient art. The infant Perseus floating in an ark or box with his mother, is probably from a composition of the same kind; Isis and Horus being represented enclosed in this manner on the mystic or Isiac hands;⁸⁴² and the Ægyptians, as before observed, representing the Sun in a boat instead of a chariot; from which boat being carried in procession upon men's shoulders, as it often appears in their sculptures, and being ornamented with symbols of Ammon taken from the ram, probably arose the fable of the Argonautic expedition; of which there is not a trace in the genuine parts of either of the Homeric poems.⁸⁴³ The Colchians indeed were supposed to be a colony of Ægyptians,⁸⁴⁴ and it is possible that there might be so much truth in the story, as that a party of Greek pirates carried off a golden figure of the symbol of their god: but had it been an expedition of any splendor or importance, it certainly would have been noticed in the repeated mention that is made of the heroes said to have been concerned in it.

221. The supreme Triad, thus represented at Hierapolis, assumed different forms and names in different mystic temples. In that of Samothrace it appeared in three celebrated statues of Scopas, called Venus, Pothos, and Phaëthon,⁸⁴⁵ or Nature, Attraction, and Light;⁸⁴⁶ and at Upsal in Sweden, by three figures equally symbolical, called Odin, Freia, and Thor; the first of which comprehended the attributes of Jupiter and Mars, the second those of Juno and Venus, and the third those of Hercules and Bacchus, together with the thunder of Jupiter: for Thor, as mediator between heaven and earth, had the general command of the terrestrial atmosphere.⁸⁴⁷ Among the Chinese sects, which

⁸³⁵ Οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ σπερμὰτα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὕγρου παρασχέουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσιν. de Bello Parth. Plutarch describes her in the same words, in Crasso, p. 271.

⁸³⁷ Ἰωάννην ἀρχαίον καλοῦσι (Λακωνικὴ) Ἀφροδίτης Ἥρας. Pausan. in Lacon. c. xlii. Ἦραν ἐκεῖνοι (Τυρρηνοὶ) Κυπρίαν καλοῦσι. Strabon. lib. v. p. 241.

⁸³⁸ Ἐχὴ δὲ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ Ῥέης, καὶ Ἀρτεμίδος, καὶ Νημεσίος, καὶ Μοῖραι. Lucian. de D. Sy. s. 32.

⁸³⁹ — ἀμφὶ ἵκονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λεόντις φοροῦσιν, ὃ δὲ ταυροῖσιν ἐφίξει. Ib. s. 31.

⁸⁴⁰ Λεόντις μὲν φοροῦσιν, καὶ ταυρῶν ἐχὴ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πυργόφοροι, ὅσων Ῥέην Λυδοὶ ποιοῦσι. Ib. s. 15.

⁸⁴¹ Καὶ ὅσα το μὲν τὸν Διὸς ἀγάλμα, ἐς Δία πάντα ἔρη, καὶ κεφαλὴν, καὶ εἶμας, καὶ ἰδρην· καὶ μὴ οὐδὲ ἐθλὼν ἄλλως ἐκαστες. Ib. s. 31.

⁸⁴² It was therefore the same figure as that on the Phœnician medal with the bull's head on the chair; and which is repeated with slight variations on the silver coins of Alexander the Great, Seleucus I., Antiochus IV., &c.

⁸⁴³ — οὐδὲ τι οὐνομα ἰδὼν αὐτῇ ἐτίθητο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γένεσις αὐτῷ περὶ, καὶ εἰδὸς λέγουσι καὶ μὴ οἱ μὲν ἐς Διόνυσον· ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐς Διευκαλῆωνα· οἱ δὲ ἐς Σεμίραμιν ἀγοῦσι. Ib. s. 33.

⁸⁴⁴ Μῆσον ἔ' ἀμφὶν τὸν Μῆθραν εἶναι· δοὶ καὶ Μῆθρην Περσὶ το μῆσιν οὐνομαζόντων. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 369.

⁸⁴⁵ La Chausse Mus. Rom. vol. ii. pl. 11 and 13.

⁸⁴⁶ The four lines in Odys. M. 69-72. are manifestly interpolated.

⁸⁴⁷ Herodot. lib. ii. c. civ.

⁸⁴⁸ Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. iv. 7.

⁸⁴⁹ Πόθος, desire. Φαίθων is an Homeric title of the Sun, signifying splendid or luminous; but afterwards personified by the mythologists into a son of Apollo.

⁸⁵⁰ Mallet Hist. de Danemar. Introd. c. vii. p. 115. Thor bore the club of Hercules; but like Bacchus he was the God of the seasons, and his chariot was drawn by goats. Ibid. et Oda Thrymi Edd. xxi. Ol. Rudbeck. tab. x. fig. 28.

have retained or adopted the symbolical worship, a triple personification of one godhead is comprehended in the goddess Pussa, whom they represent sitting upon the lotus, called, in that country, Lien, and with many arms, carrying different symbols, to signify the various operations of universal nature. A similar union of attributes was expressed in the Scandinavian goddess Isa or Disa; who in one of her personifications appeared riding upon a ram accompanied with music, to signify, like Pan, the principle of universal harmony; and, in another, upon a goat, with a quiver of arrows at her back, and ears of corn in her hand, to signify her dominion over generation, vegetation, and destruction.⁸⁴⁸ Even in the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean, which appear to have been peopled from the Malay shores, the supreme deities are God the Father, God the Son, and the Bird or Spirit; subordinate to whom are an endless tribe of local deities and genii attending to every individual.⁸⁴⁹

222. The Ægyptians are said to have signified their divine Triad by a simple triangle;⁸⁵⁰ which sometimes appears upon Greek monuments;⁸⁵¹ but the most ancient form of this more concise and comprehensive symbol, appears to be that of the three lines, or three human legs springing from a central disk or circle, which has been called a Trinacria, and supposed to allude to the island of Sicily; but which is of Asiatic origin; its earliest appearance being upon the very ancient coins of Aspendus in Pamphylia; sometimes alone in the square incuse; and sometimes upon the body of the eagle or back of the lion.⁸⁵² The tripod, however, was more generally employed for this purpose; and is found composed in an endless variety of ways, according to the various attributes meant to be specifically expressed. On the coins of Menecratia in Phrygia it is represented between two asterisks, with a serpent wreathed round a battle-axe inserted into it, as an accessory symbol signifying preservation and destruction.⁸⁵³ In the ceremonial of worship, the number *three* was employed with mystic solemnity;⁸⁵⁴ and in the emblematical hands above alluded to, which seem to have been borne upon the point of a staff or sceptre in the Isiac processions, the thumb and two fore-fingers are held up to signify the three primary and general personifications, while the peculiar attributes of each are indicated by the various accessory symbols.

223. A bird was probably chosen for the emblem of the third person to signify incubation, by which was figuratively expressed the fructification of inert matter, caused by the vital spirit moving upon the waters. When represented under a human form, and without the emblem, it has generally wings, as in the figures of Mithras; and, in some instances, the priapic cap or Ægyptian mitre upon its head, with the hook or attractor in one hand, and the winnow or separator in the other.⁸⁵⁵ The dove would naturally be selected in the East in preference to every other species of bird, on account of its domestic familiarity with man; it usually lodging under the same roof with him, and being employed as his messenger from one remote place to another. Birds of this kind were also remarkable for the care of their offspring, and for a sort of conjugal attachment and fidelity to each other; as likewise for the peculiar fervency of their sexual desires; whence they were sacred to Venus, and emblems of love.⁸⁵⁶ On the same account they were said by the poets to carry ambrosia from the ocean to Jupiter.⁸⁵⁷ for, being the symbols of love or attraction, they were the symbols of that power, which bore the finer exhalations, the immortal and celestial infusions called ambrosia, with which water the prolific element of the earth had been impregnated, back to their original source, that they might be again absorbed in the great abyss of the divine essence. Birds, however, of two distinct kinds appear in the attitude of incubation on the heads of the Ægyptian Isis; and in a beautiful figure in brass belonging to Mr. Payne Knight, a bird appears in the same posture on the head of a Grecian deity; which by the style of work must be much anterior to the adoption of any thing Ægyptian into the religion of Greece. It was found in Epirus with other articles, where the ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ, or female personification of the supreme God, Jupiter of Dodona, was Dione; who appears to have been the Juno-Venus, or composite personage above mentioned. In this figure she seems to have been represented with the diadem and sceptre of the former, the dove of the latter, and the golden disk of Ceres; which three last symbols were also those of the Ægyptian Isis. The dove, being thus common to the

⁸⁴⁸ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. vol. ii. p. 209 and 10.

⁸⁴⁹ Missionaries First Voyage, p. 343.

⁸⁵⁰ ——— *εκατοσόν ουν, την μιν προς ορθας, αρρηνι, την δε βασιν, θηλειη, την δε υποτεινονσαν, αμφαν εγγαυον' και τον μεν Οσιμιν, ως αρχην, την δε Ισιν ως υποδεχην, τον δε 'Ωρον, ως αποδεχόμεν.* Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 373.

⁸⁵¹ Particularly on the coins of the Colonies in Magna Græcia.

⁸⁵² See Mus. Hunter. tab. vii. No. 15.

⁸⁵³ A similar old coin with the symbol on the back of a lion is in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁸⁵⁴ Brass coin in the cabinet of Mr. Knight.

⁸⁵⁵ *Προς τας ἀγιστείας των θιον χρημεθα τη αριθμω τριτης.* Aristot. de Cael. lib. i. c. i.

⁸⁵⁶ See Phœnician coins of Melita.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ελιαν. de Animal. lib. iii. c. xlii. and v. and lib. iv. c. ii.*

⁸⁵⁸ Odyss. M. 62-63. *Μοετο apud Athen. Deipnos. lib. xi. p. 491.*

Τον μεν ορα τρημενιν υπο λαβη γραφον ανθρω, Αμβροσιον φορονται απ' Πικανιο ρουαν.

principal goddess both of Dodona and Ægypt, may account for the confused story told by Herodotus, of two pigeons, or priestesses called pigeons, going from Thebes in Ægypt, and founding the oracles of Dodona and Libya.⁶⁵⁸ Like others of the kind, it was contrived to veil the mystic meaning of symbolical figures, and evade further questions. The beak of the bird, however, in the figure in question, is too much bent for any of the dove kind; and is more like that of a cuckoo; which was the symbol on the sceptre of the Argive Juno in ivory and gold by Polycletus, which held a pomegranate in the other hand;⁶⁵⁹ but what it meant is vain to conjecture. Another bird, much celebrated by the Greek poets as a magical charm or philtre, under the name of Iunx,⁶⁶⁰ appears by the description of Aristotle⁶⁶¹ to be the larger spotted woodpecker; which, however, we have never observed in any monuments of ancient art; nor do we know of any natural properties belonging to it that could have authorised its use. It seems to be the Picus of the Italians, which was sacred to Mars.⁶⁶²

224. After the supreme Triad, which occupied the adytum of the temple at Hierapolis, came the personifications of their various attributes and emanations; which are called after the names of the corresponding Grecian deities; and among which was an ancient statue of Apollo clothed and bearded, contrary to the usual mode of representing him.⁶⁶³ In the vestibule were two phalli of enormous magnitude;⁶⁶⁴ upon one of which a person resided during seven days twice in each year to communicate with the gods,⁶⁶⁵ and pray for the prosperity of Syria; and in the court were kept the sacred or symbolical animals; such as bulls, horses, lions, bears, eagles, &c.⁶⁶⁶ In an adjoining pond were the sacred fish, some of which were tame and of great size; and about the temple were an immense number of statues of heroes, priests, kings, and other deified persons, who had either been benefactors to it, or, from their general celebrity, thought worthy to be ranked with them. Among the former were many of the Macedonian princes, and among the latter several of the heroes and heroines of the Iliad, such as Achilles, Hector, Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, &c.⁶⁶⁷

225. The most common mode of signifying deification in a portrait was by representing the figure naked, or with the simple chlamys or mantle given to the statues of the gods. The head, too, was sometimes radiated; or the bust placed upon some sacred and appropriate symbol; such as the cornucopiæ,⁶⁶⁸ the flower of the lotus,⁶⁶⁹ or the inverted obelisk; which last mode was by far the most frequent; the greatest part of the busts now extant of eminent Grecian statesmen, poets, and philosophers, having been thus represented; though many of them are of persons who were never canonised by any public decree: for, in the loose and indeterminate system of ancient faith, every individual could consecrate in his own family the object of his admiration, gratitude, or esteem, and address him with whatever rites of devotion he thought proper, provided he did nothing contrary to the peace and order of society, or in open violation of the established forms of worship. This consecration, however, was not properly deification, but what the Roman Catholic Church still practises under the title of canonisation; the object of it having been considered, according to the modern acceptance of the words, rather as a saint than a god; wherefore a deified or canonised Roman emperor was not called *Deus*, but *Divus*; a title which the early Christians equally bestowed on the canonised champions of their faith.

226. Among the rites and customs of the temple at Hierapolis, that of the priests castrating themselves, and assuming the manners and attire of women, is one of the most unaccountable. The legendary tale of Combabus adduced by the author of the treatise ascribed to Lucian, certainly does not give a true explanation of it; but was probably invented, like others of the kind, to conceal rather than develop; for the same custom prevailed in Phrygia among the priests of Cybelè and Atys, who had no such story to account for it. Perhaps it might have arisen from a notion of making themselves emblems of the deity by acquiring an androgynous appearance; and perhaps, as Phurnutus

⁶⁵⁸ Lib. ii. c. liv. &c.

⁶⁵⁹ Pausan. in Corinth. c. xvii.

⁶⁶⁰ Pindar. Pyth. iv. 380. Nem. iv. v. 55. Theocrit. Pharmac.

⁶⁶¹ Hist. Anim. lib. ii. c. xii.

⁶⁶² Ορμηται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σαβίνας οἱ Παιονίαι, δρυκολάττον τὴν ἰδὴν ἡγήσαντο τοῖς ἀρχηγέταις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα· Πικὸν γὰρ τοῦ ὄρνιθι τούτου ὀνομαζέσθαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἀριος ἱερὸν. Strab. lib. v. p. 240.

⁶⁶³ Κάσαι ἔσαντο Ἀπολλωνοῦ, οὐκ οἷον ἰσθίη ποιέσθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἀπολλωνῶν νύνη τε ἔργον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ποιήσιν· μόνον δὲ οὗτοι Ἀπολλωνοῦ γέννητον ἔσαντο δεικνύουσι. — ἐν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν σφραγὶν Ἀπολλωνίαι κοινωμένηται· μόνον Ἀπολλωνῶν εἶρασι κοσμεῖσθαι. Lucian. de D. Sy. s. 35.

Similar figures of Apollo are upon some of the very early coins of Syracuse and Rhegium.

⁶⁶⁴ According to the present reading, 300 ells high; probably 30.

⁶⁶⁵ Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, ὅτι ἔφου τοῖσι θεοῖσι θυμῶσι, καὶ ἀγαθὰ πασὶ Συρίᾳ αἰετοῖ. Ib. s. 28.

⁶⁶⁶ Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρετοῖ νομίζονται βόες μεγάλοι, καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ αἰετοὶ, καὶ ἀρκτοὶ, καὶ λιοντὲς· καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν σκηνόται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἱροὶ τε ἴσθαι καὶ χερσὶν. Ib. s. 41.

⁶⁶⁷ This temple having been in an alluvial country near the Euphrates, it is probable that most of the marble statues which adorned it still exist under the accumulated soil.

⁶⁶⁸ Of which there are many instances in gems.

⁶⁶⁹ See the beautiful marble bust called Clytia in the British Museum.

conjectures, from some allegorical fiction, such as those of the castration of Heaven by Time, of Time by Jupiter;⁸⁷⁰ &c. It is possible, likewise, that they might have thought a deprivation of virility an incentive to that spiritual enthusiasm, to which women were observed to be more liable than men; and to which all sensual indulgence, particularly that of the sexes, was held to be peculiarly adverse: whence strict abstinence from the pleasures of both the bed and table was required preparatory to the performance of several religious rites, though all abstinence was contrary to the general festive character of the Greek worship. The Pythian priestesses in particular fasted very rigidly before they mounted the tripod, from which their predictions were uttered; and both they and the Sibyls were always virgins; such alone being qualified for the sacred office of transmitting divine inspiration. The ancient German prophetesses, too, who exercised such unlimited control over a people that would submit to no human authority, were equally virgins consecrated to the Deity, like the Roman Vestals; or chosen from the rest of the species by some manifest signs of his predilection.⁸⁷¹ Perpetual virginity was also the attribute of many of the ancient goddesses; and, what may seem extraordinary, of some who had proved themselves prolific. Minerva, though pre-eminently distinguished by the title of the virgin,⁸⁷² is said to have had children by the Sun, called Corybantes; who appear to have been a kind of priests of that god, canonised for their knowledge; and, therefore, fabled to have been his children by Divine Wisdom.⁸⁷³ Diana, who was equally famed for her virginal purity, has the title of mother in an ancient inscription;⁸⁷⁴ and Juno is said to have renewed her virginity every year, by bathing in a certain fountain in the Peloponnesus, the reason of which was explained in the Argive mysteries;⁸⁷⁵ in which the initiated were probably informed that this was an ancient figurative mode of signifying the fertilising quality of those waters, which renewed and re-integrated annually the productive powers of the earth. This figurative or mystic renovation of virginity seems to be signified in the Orphic hymns by the epithet ΠΟΛΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ;⁸⁷⁶ which, though applied to a male personification, may equally signify the complete restoration of the procreative organs of the universe after each periodical effort of nature.

227. Upon this principle, the placing figures upon some kinds of fish appears to have been an ancient mode of consecration and apotheosis, to veil which under the usual covering of fable, the tales of Arion, Taras, &c. were probably invented. Fish were the natural emblems of the productive power of the waters; they being more prolific than any other class of animals, or even vegetables, that we know. The species consecrated to the Syrian goddess seems to have been the Scarus, celebrated for its tameness⁸⁷⁷ and lubricity; in which last it held the same rank among fish, as the goat did among quadrupeds.⁸⁷⁸ Sacred eels were kept in the fountain of Arethusa;⁸⁷⁹ but the dolphin was the common symbol of the Greeks, as the thunny was of the Phœnicians; both being gregarious fish, and remarkable for intelligence and sagacity;⁸⁸⁰ and therefore probably signifying other attributes combined with the generative. The thunny is also the symbol upon all the very ancient gold coins struck by the Greeks, in which it almost invariably serves as the base or substratum for some other symbolical figure to rest upon;⁸⁸¹ water being the general means, by which all the other powers of nature act.

228. The remarkable concurrence of the allegories, symbols, and titles of ancient mythology in favor of the mystic system of emanations, is alone sufficient to prove the falsity of the hypotheses founded upon Euhemerus's narrative; and the accurate and extensive researches of modern travellers into the ancient religions and traditions of the East, prove that the narrative itself was entirely fiction; no trace of such an island as Panchæa, or of any of the historical records or memorials which he pretended to have met with there, being now to be found. On the contrary, the extreme

⁸⁷⁰ De Nat. Deor. c. vi. p. 147.

⁸⁷¹ See Tacit. de M. G.

⁸⁷² Παρθένων, ναός ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς. Schol. in Demosth. Orat. in Androt.

⁸⁷³ Strabon. lib. x. p. 478.

⁸⁷⁴ Gruter. Thesaur. xli. 5.

⁸⁷⁵ Ἐστρωθεὶς τὴν Ἱέραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι· κατὰ τοὺς λουμένην παρθένου γινεσθαι· οὗτος μὲν δὲ σφαῖνι κε τελευτᾷ, ἣν αὐτοὺσι τῇ Ἱέρῃ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐστιν. Pausan. in Corinth. c. xxxviii.

⁸⁷⁶ Hymn. ii.

⁸⁷⁷ Xenophon. Anab.

⁸⁷⁸ Ælian. de Animal. lib. i. c. ii.

⁸⁷⁹ Plutarch. de Solert. Animal. p. 976.

⁸⁸⁰ Ælian. de Animal. lib. i. c. xviii. Plutarch. de Solert. Animal. p. 979.

⁸⁸¹ Six are in the cabinet of Mr. Knight, in which it is respectively placed under the triton of Corcyra, the lion of Cyzicus, the goat of Æge, the ram of Clazomenæ, the bull of Samos, and the gryphon of Teios. For the form and size of these coins see Mus. Hunt. tab. 66. fig. 1. They are probably the Homeric talents stamped, and may be considered as the first money.

antiquity and universal reception of the system of emanations, over all those vast countries which lie between the Arctic and Pacific oceans, have been fully and clearly demonstrated. According to the Hindoos, with whose modification of it we are best acquainted, the supreme ineffable God, called Brame, or the *great one*, first produced Brama the creator, who is represented with four heads corresponding with the four elements; and from whom proceeded Vishnoo the preserver and Shiven the destroyer; who is also the regenerator: for, according to the Indian philosophy, nothing is destroyed or annihilated, but only transmuted; so that the destruction of one thing is still the generation of another. Hence Shiven, while he rides upon an eagle, the symbol of the destroying attribute, has the lingam, the more explicit symbol of generation, always consecrated in his temples. These three deities were still only one in essence; and were anciently worshipped collectively under the title of Trimourti; though the followers of the two latter now constitute two opposite and hostile sects; which, nevertheless, join on some occasions in the worship of the universal Triad.²²⁹

229. This triform division of the personified attributes or modes of action of one first cause, seems to have been the first departure from simple theism, and the foundation of religious mythology in every part of the earth. To trace its origin to patriarchal traditions, or seek for it in the philosophy of any particular people, will only lead to frivolous conjecture, or to fraud and forgery; which have been abundantly employed upon this subject: nor have repeated detection and exposure either damped the ardor or abashed the effrontery of those, who still find them convenient to support their theories and opinions.²³⁰ Its real source is in the human mind itself; whose feeble and inadequate attempts to form an idea of one universal first cause would naturally end in generalising and classing the particular ideas derived from the senses, and thus forming distinct, though indefinite notions of certain attributes or modes of action; of which the generic divisions are universally three; such as goodness, wisdom, and power; creation, preservation, and destruction; potential, instrumental, and efficient, &c. &c. Hence almost every nation of the world, that has deviated from the rude simplicity of primitive Theism, has had its Trinity in Unity; which, when not limited and ascertained by divine revelation, branched out, by the natural subdivision of collective and indefinite ideas, into the endless and intricate personifications of particular subordinate attributes, which have afforded such abundant materials for the elegant fictions both of poetry and art.

230. The similitude of these allegorical and symbolical fictions with each other, in every part of the world, is no proof of their having been derived, any more than the primitive notions which they signify, from any one particular people; for as the organs of sense and the principles of intellect are the same in all mankind, they would all naturally form similar ideas from similar objects; and employ similar signs to express them, so long as natural and not conventional signs were used. Wolves, lions, and panthers, are equally beasts of prey in all countries; and would naturally be employed as symbols of destruction, wherever they were known: nor would the bull and cow be less obvious emblems of creative force and nutrition; when it was found that the one might be employed in tilling the earth, and the other in constantly supplying the most salubrious and nutritious food. The characteristic qualities of the egg, the serpent, the goat, &c. are no less obvious; and as observation would naturally become more extensive, as intellect became more active, new symbols would everywhere be adopted, and new combinations of them be invented in proportion as they were wanted.

231. The only certain proof of plagiarism or borrowing is where the *animal or vegetable productions* of one climate are employed as symbols by the inhabitants of another; as the lion is in Tibet; and as the lotus and hooded snake were in Ægypt; which make it probable that the religious symbols of both those countries came originally from the Hindoos. As commercial communications, however, became more free and intimate, particular symbols might have been adopted from one people by another without any common origin or even connexion of general principles; though, between Ægypt and Hindostan the general similarity is too great in points remote from common usage, to have been spontaneous or accidental. One of the most remarkable is the hereditary division into casts derived from the metempsychosis; which was a fundamental article of faith with both; as also with the ancient Gauls, Britons, and many other nations. The Hindoo casts rank according to the number of transmigrations which the soul is supposed to have undergone, and its consequent proximity to, or distance from re-absorption into the divine essence, or intellectual abyss, from which it sprang; and in no instance in the history of man, has the craft of imposture, or the insolence of usurpation,

²²⁹ Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. iv, ad fin.

²³⁰ See Sibylline verses, oracles, &c. forged by the Alexandrian Jews and Platonic Christians, but quoted as authentic by Mr. Bryant, on *Ancient Mythology*; and Mr. Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. iv.

placed one class of human beings so far above another, as the sacred Bramins, whose souls are approaching to a re-union with their source, are above the wretched outcasts, who are without any rank in the hierarchy; and are therefore supposed to have all the long, humiliating, and painful transmigrations yet before them. Should the most respectable and opulent of these degraded mortals happen to touch the poorest, and, in other respects, most worthless persons of exalted religious rank, the offence, in some of the Hindoo governments, would be punished with death: even to let his shadow reach him, is to defile and insult him; and as the respective distinctions are in both hereditary, the soul being supposed to descend into one class for punishment and ascend into the other for reward, the misery of degradation is without hope even in posterity; the wretched parents having nothing to bequeath to their unfortunate offspring that is not tainted with everlasting infamy and humiliation. Loss of cast is therefore the most dreadful punishment that a Hindoo can suffer; as it affects both his body and his soul, extends beyond the grave, and reduces both him and his posterity for ever to a situation below that of a brute.

232. Had this powerful engine of influence been employed in favor of pure morality and efficient virtue, the Hindoos might have been the most virtuous and happy of the human race; but the ambition of a hierarchy has, as usual, employed it to serve its own particular interests, instead of those of the community in general: whence to taste of the flesh of a cow, or to be placed with certain ceremonies upon the back of a bull, though unwillingly and by constraint, are crimes by which the most virtuous of men is irrevocably subjected to it, while the worst excesses of cruelty, fraud, perjury, and peculation leave no stains nor pollutions whatsoever. The future rewards, also, held out by their religion, are not to any social or practical virtues, but to severe penances, operose ceremonies, and above all to profuse donations to the priesthood. The Bramins have even gone so far as to sell future happiness by retail; and to publish a tariff of the different prices, at which certain periods of residence in their paradise, or regions of bliss, are to be obtained between the different transmigrations of the soul.⁸⁸⁴ The Hindoos are of course a faithless and fraudulent, though in general a mild and submissive race: for the same system which represses active virtue, represses aspiring hope; and by fixing each individual immovably in his station, renders him almost as much a machine as the implement which he employs. Hence, like the ancient Egyptians, they have been eminently successful in all works of art, that require only methodical labor and manual dexterity, but have never produced any thing in painting, sculpture or architecture that discovers the smallest trace or symptom of those powers of the mind, which we call taste and genius; and of which the most early and imperfect works of the Greeks always show some dawning. Should the pious labors of our missionaries succeed in diffusing among them a more pure and more moral, but less uniform and less energetic system of religion, they may improve and exalt the characters of individual men; but they will for ever destroy the repose and tranquillity of the mass. The lights of European literature and philosophy will break in with the lights of the gospel; the spirit of controversy will accompany the spirit of devotion; and it will soon be found that men, who have learned to think themselves equal in the sight of God, will assert their equality in the estimation of men. It requires therefore no spirit of prophecy, nor even any extraordinary degree of political sagacity, to fix the date of the fall of European domination in the East from the prevalence of European religion.

233. From the specimens that have appeared in European languages, the poetry of the Hindoos seems to be in the same style as their art; and to consist of gigantic, gloomy, and operose fictions, destitute of all those graces which distinguish the religious and poetical fables of the Greeks. Nevertheless the structure of their mythology is full as favorable to both; being equally abundant and more systematic in its emanations and personifications. After the supreme Triad, they suppose an immense host of inferior spirits to have been produced; part of whom afterwards rebelling under their chiefs Moisaor and Rhaabon, the material world was prepared for their prison and place of purgation; in which they were to pass through eighty-nine transmigrations prior to their restoration. During this time they were exposed to the machinations of their former leaders; who endeavour to make them violate the laws of the Omnipotent, and thus relapse into hopeless perdition, or lose their cast, and have all the tedious and painful transmigrations already past to go through again; to prevent which, their more dutiful brethren, the emanations that remained faithful to the Omnipotent, were allowed to comfort, cherish, and assist them in their passage; and that all might have equal opportunities of redeeming themselves, the divine personages of the great Triad had at different times become incarnate in different forms, and in different countries, to the inhabitants of which they had given different laws and instructions suitable to their respective climates and circumstances; so that

⁸⁸⁴ Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. v.

each religion may be good without being exclusively so; the goodness of the deity naturally allowing many roads to the same end.

234. These incarnations, which form the principal subjects of sculpture in all the temples of India, Tibet, Tartary, and China, are above all others calculated to call forth the ideal perfections of the art, by expanding and exalting the imagination of the artist, and exciting his ambition to surpass the simple imitation of ordinary forms in order to produce a model of excellence worthy to be the corporeal habitation of the Deity: but this, no nation of the East, nor indeed of the Earth, except the Greeks and those who copied them, ever attempted. Let the precious wrecks and fragments, therefore, of the art and genius of that wonderful people be collected with care and preserved with reverence, as examples of what man is capable of under peculiar circumstances; which, as they have never occurred but once, may never occur again!

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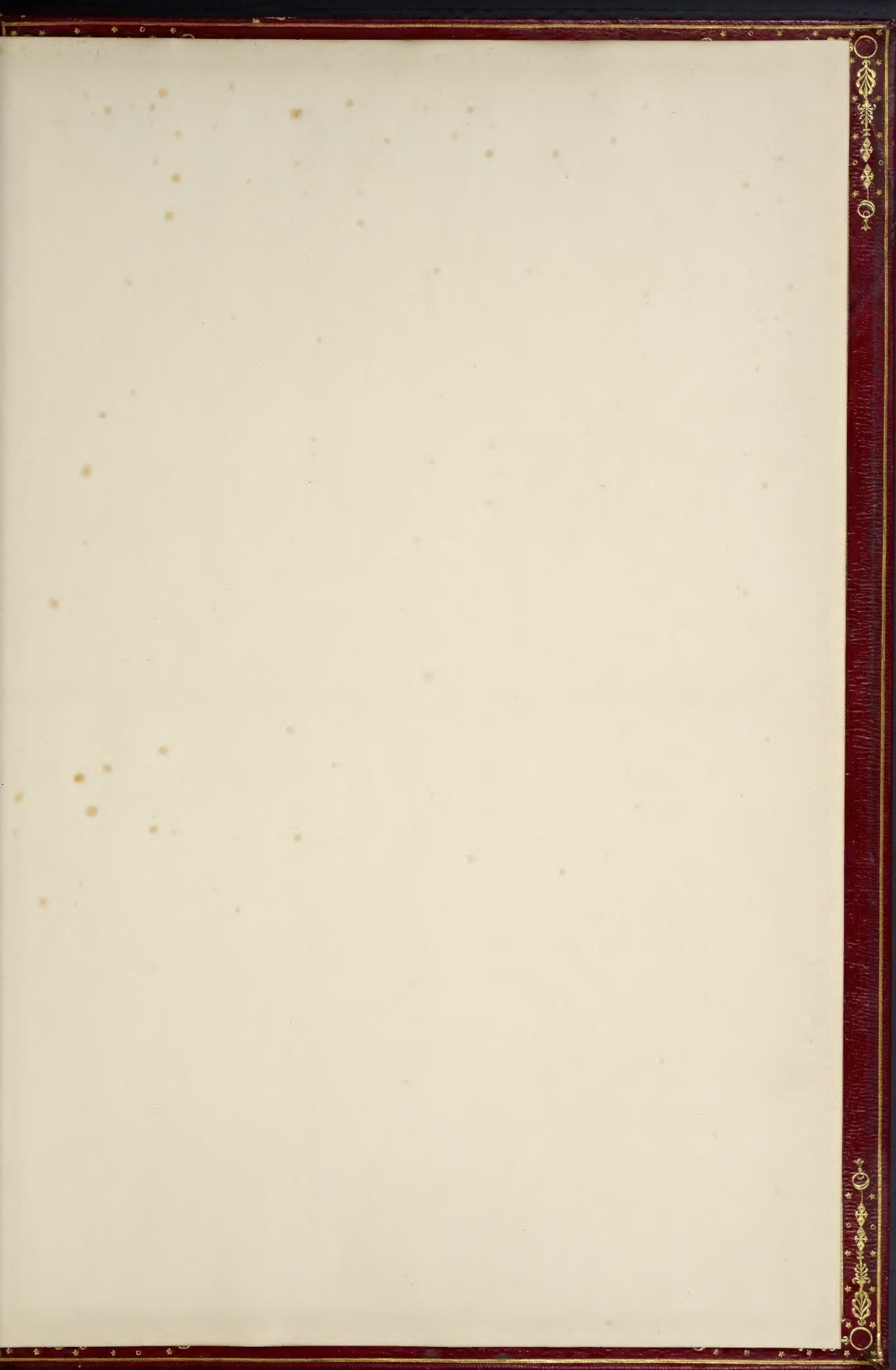
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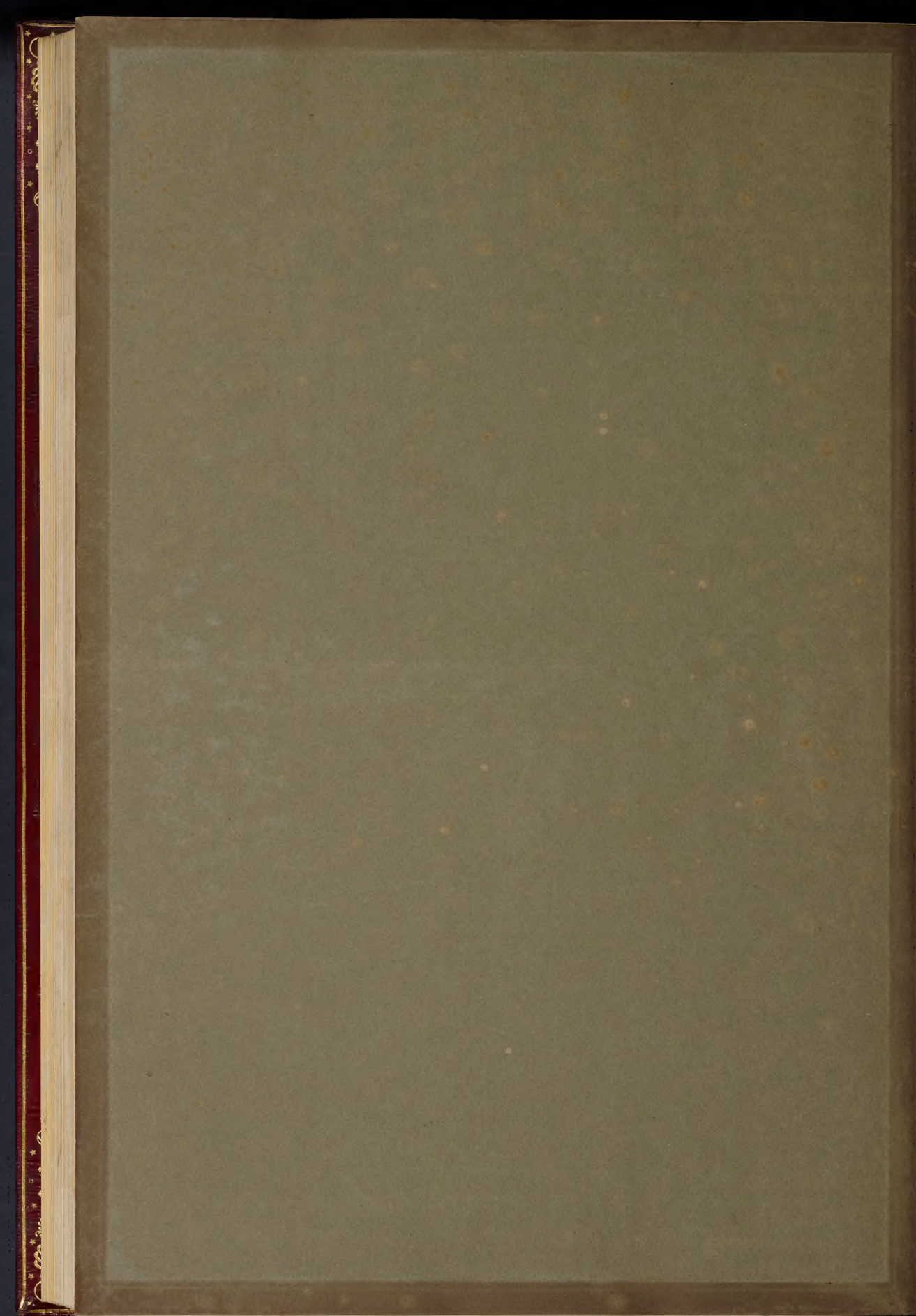
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P. S. The Author takes this opportunity of correcting an error, into which he and others of the Committee of Publication were led by a most respectable and lamented Member, in attributing the Formation of the Petworth Collection of Marbles to the Duke of Somerset aided by Mr. Brettingham; whereas the country owes it entirely to the taste and magnificence of the late and present Earls of Egremont. See Explanation of pl. lxxii. and lxxiii. of the first Volume of "Select Specimens, &c."

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